

The success of ATTAC in Norway

- An approach synthesising discourse analysis and framing theory

Sveinung Sandberg

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Department of Sociology and Human Geography

University of Oslo

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Abstract

This study uses a synthesis of framing theory and discourse analysis in order to explain the emergence and the relative success of ATTAC Norway. The approach has two general aims, a theoretical and an empirical. The theoretical aim is to introduce discourse analysis as the structural theory missing in the framing perspective of contemporary social movement theory, and the empirical aim is to present a plausible understanding of the emergence and initial success of ATTAC in Norway.

The study has three main theoretical conclusions. First, there is an absence of a structural level of analysis in contemporary framing theory, which makes their explanations too voluntaristic. Second, when studying collective action framing, such a structural element is crucial to fully understand the construction, perception and effect of framing efforts. Third, when doing empirical research we can use cognitive cues, representations and stories as the link or mediator between strategic framing and discourses. The search for these will assist our understanding of the relation between framing theory and discourse analysis.

Empirically, the absence of “real” changes in political opportunity and mobilising structure of a scale necessary to understand the sudden success of ATTAC in Norway, makes a social constructivist analysis relevant. Based on this theoretical position, the study lists four main reasons for the success. First, the organisation had well-developed collective action framing, or a well-developed sets of beliefs triggering collective action. Second, these collective action frames were embedded in popular and new discourses of globalisation and new social movements. The association with these discourses gave the organisation the crucial values of novelty and truth, the latter because the discourses have their origin in the field of science. Third, representing the globalisation and new social movements discourses made mobilisation easier because these discourses had not yet been institutionalised in formal organisations. Finally, the great demonstrations, for example in Seattle, gave ATTAC Norway access to the media. The extensive media coverage provided the organisation with an opportunity to reach potential supporters with their message.

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INTRODUCTION

This study will synthesise framing theory and discourse analysis in order to understand the emergence and relative success of ATTAC Norway.¹ The approach has two general aims, a theoretical and an empirical. The theoretical aim is to introduce discourse analysis as the structural theory missing in the framing perspective of contemporary social movement theory,² and the empirical aim is to present a plausible understanding of the emergence and initial success of ATTAC in Norway.

Social and discursive practice consists partly of active agency and partly of reproduction of structures. Consequently, combining these two is necessary to understand social phenomena. In social science, however, many theories tend to emphasise either how people creatively and strategically create the world, or how action is determined structurally by, for example, economy, socialisation or language. Combining agency and structure has always been one of the major problems of sociology,³ and this project struggles with the same issue. It is easier to come up with fruitful approaches to the problem if one limits the scope of applicability. Based on this argument, I propose a theoretical synthesis of established theories applicable to social constructivist studies of the use of language in social movements and organisations.

Theoretically, there are two reasons for introducing a structural level of analysis in studies of social movements and organisations' uses of language. First, it will challenge some of the implicit voluntarism in framing theory, and second, it will emphasise that particular texts must be understood in their cultural setting. When studying rhetoric shared by organisations in different countries, as in the case of ATTAC, the national or local system of discourses becomes the way to include the concept of locality in the analysis.

¹ The part on framing theory is mainly based upon the writing of David A. Snow and Richard D. Benford (Snow, Rochford, Wordon and Benton 1986; Snow and Benford; 1988; 1992). The part on discourse analysis is based upon the methodological contributions of Michel Foucault (1972a; 1972b), and the linguist Norman Fairclough (1992; 1995a; 1995b).

² The ordering of social movement theory is based upon McAdam, McCarthy and Zald's *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements* (1996).

³ Evident for example in the major theoretical contributions by Bourdieu (1990) and Giddens (1984).

While sets of statements can travel world wide, the system they are interpreted into will be local. In the analysis I will try to demonstrate the interconnection between strategic framing and discourses, thereby illustrating a necessary interconnection between agency and structures in studies of language.

After having suggested a theoretical framework, it will be decisive to reveal its relevancy for empirical research. For this purpose one needs a case in which the use of language has been particularly important. The emergence and initial success of ATTAC in Norway is an illustrating case. The absence of “real” changes great enough to understand the sudden success of the organisation makes a language-based social constructivist analysis interesting. In the theory chapter, I will return to this feature, as well as other reasons for using my approach. The case is also interesting in itself, because the extent of immediate success and media attention is seldom witnessed in relation to these kinds of organisations. It is difficult to mobilise for collective action, and there may be a lesson to learn from organisations that are successful in this respect. The aim of my study is twofold, both theoretical and empirical, and I leave it to the interest of the reader to decide which part is most important.

The use of a synthesis of framing theory and discourse analysis in the empirical part of my project is based on the principle that the case should decide the theories applied to study it. It has never been my intention to exclude realist approaches in principle. Still, I have chosen to scrutinise the social constructivist aspects of the case, at the sacrifice of more “realistic” aspects, in order to keep the analysis focused in the theoretical part of the study.

The substantial understanding of the success of an organisation is related to goal achievement. However, my pragmatic understanding of success will rather be based on memberships. This is connected indirectly to goal achievement, but there is no necessary connection. Success is conceptualised in this way since ATTAC is still a young organisation, and because my particular interest is directed at the unusual rapid growth of the organisation.

ATTAC in Norway

ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Transaction for the Aid of Citizens) was initially formed in France June 3rd 1998. The idea for the initiative came from an article in “Le Monde diplomatique” December 1997. The organisation’s main goals were to tax speculative transactions on the exchange market, punishment of fiscal paradises and cancellation of the debt of states with a weak economy. It diffused quickly, and by March 2002 it was present in 35 countries.⁴ ATTAC was introduced in Norway by the newspaper *Morgenbladet*, who initiated the establishment of a provisional council consisting of people otherwise involved in major political parties and organisation. At that time it had the support of 80 established organisations and six political parties. The organisation also got a lot of attention and support in the media.⁵ On the 31st of May 2001 it was officially established with 700 people in attendance at the first meeting. *Morgenbladet* and *Klassekampen* have played an important role for ATTAC in Norway, and they have been the most important arenas for discussions of the organisation.⁶

ATTAC can be seen as a continuation of the movements evolving around the December strikes in France 1995, and the international ATTAC as inspired by the successful opposition towards the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) agreement in 1998. Due to the sudden success, the organisation has been the object of several studies, many of which are more extensive than my contribution on historical and organisational descriptions of the organisation.⁷ Thus, for readers particularly interested in the empirical

⁴ Berntsen 2002:10

⁵ Landmark 2001

⁶ *Morgenbladet* is a small newspaper in Norway, mostly read by people connected to academia. It is characterised by opposition to traditional political leftist theories and embracement of more constructivist theories. *Morgenbladet* was also the place of work for Sten I. Jørgensen the author of a book on ATTAC and a central figure in the initial phase. *Klassekampen* is a political leftist newspaper. Even though these two newspapers seem to be different they are also similar in many ways. They both devote a lot of space to theoretical discussions and are concerned about international issues and social movements. Consequently there has been a considerable exchange of journalists.

⁷ For readings on the December strikes see Helle’s (2000) historical study, and for readings on the initiation of the international ATTAC and the tendencies that supported the formation of the organisation see Jørgensen (2001) and Clinell’s books (2001). Studies from Scandinavian countries that can be helpful are Heimerson (2001), Samuelson (2001), and Åkerstrøm and Hellstrøm (2001) papers that look at the media reception of ATTAC in Sweden in 2000-2001. In Denmark media is also at the core of B. M. Christensen’s (2002) study, while E. Christensen (2002) analyses the organisation’s initial success and subsequent stagnation using a more theoretical approach. Regarding the initiation of ATTAC in Norway I recommend Berntsen’s (2002) anthropological study of the active participants in the organisation from March 2001 to February 2002. In addition, Jørgensen (2001) also describes the first stages of the organisation in Norway.

part of the research theme, it may be fruitful to read the other studies of ATTAC as supplements or background for my approach. Since history and general characteristics are well covered, I will in the continuing emphasise three common impressions of the organisations and its role in the initial period. For my study these common impressions are more important than organisational facts and historical background, because my aim is to understand the support the organisation received among ordinary people. To understand this support it is crucial to get a notion of the atmosphere in the initiating period. These were some of the main impressions that triggered the initial interest: First, ATTAC Norway was seen as representing new trends in politics, and it was emphasised that it was growing fast. Among these new trends were loose network organising, a focus on a few cases instead of larger ideologies, and celebration of diversity both in form and substance. All the subsequent citations are taken from a newspaper article in *Dagbladet* 13.10.2001 (my translation). This first one illustrates the importance of network, diversity, and ideological minimalism in the new organisation.

Something is definitely happening. The tendency is clear. People move from the established political parties and into loose networks such as ATTAC. Suddenly there are again politically engaged youth, but this time it is the world's economy that provokes. Even though ATTAC is the only network that has a name and a phone number, the resistance and counter-movements are everywhere(...) ATTAC is now the world's fastest growing movement(...) In the organisation there is room for everybody. Scientists, members of labour unions, punks, politicians, journalists and housewives. The protest movements have suddenly managed to get united. ATTAC is a loose union that agree on a couple of main ideas, but that lack an uniting ideology. ATTAC represents a new politics that does not fit into the ideas we have about what politics is supposed to be, says Hylland Eriksen.

Second, this trend was seen as something unavoidable, which was destined to come. This is illustrated by another part of the article. “*We have been waiting for something new to arrive, and ATTAC became this new*”. Third, the organisation was associated with the great demonstrations during the WTO meeting in Seattle 1999, IMF and the World Bank meetings in Prague 2000, the EU summit in Gothenburg 2001, and the G8 meeting in Genoa 2001.

The WTO negotiations break apart. Suddenly the whole world starts highlighting the closed world of the trade organisations. Never more will they be able to have their meeting without massive reactions. The frustration among the top politicians is great. Where does the resistance come from? Who are they, and what do they want? One word stands out: ATTAC. ATTAC was there, these December days in Seattle. ATTAC was there during the demonstrations against the annual meetings of WTO and IMF in Prague the next year.

ATTAC was there during the EU-summit in Gothenburg in June the next year, and the G8-meeting in Genoa in July.

These demonstrations consisted of a multitude of groups with different reasons for opposing powerful institutions, and was characterised by a carnival atmosphere with dressed up participants, music and theatrical elements. They gained a lot of attention in the mass media, and for better or worse, ATTAC became the symbol for these international events in Norway. The demonstrations gave the organisation much attention in the important initial phase, but at the same time the organisation became associated with violence. This was because of a combination of rioting in the demonstrations and media's tendency to focus on violent incidents.

The initial phase was also marked by a lot of uncertainty, and the following points of views illustrate this uncertainty. Among potential supporters, some saw ATTAC as an overcoming of the dichotomy of the old left and right in politics, while others saw it as a total rejection of traditional politics. Some saw it as a flexible organisation not in need of the rigid hierarchical structures of traditional political organisations, and others as a social movement distinct from political organisations. There was also people emphasising ATTAC's role as one introducing academia into the field of social movements. This uncertainty and the fact that the organisation attracted members, made it into a battlefield for established organisations in Norway. They all wanted to play a role in shaping the organisation. An important conflict was between protagonists and opponents of Norwegian membership in the EU. The struggles between established organisations were predominant in the provisional council consisting of members of different organisations, but became less visible in the local groups and the later council.⁸

Finally, ATTAC Norway ended up as an organisation with a traditional formal structure, but with emphasis on activism. As decided early, it does not hold a position on the EU issue, and the number of members have stabilised. By May 2003 it is an active organisation counting about 4000 members even though it has disappeared from the newspaper headlines.

I will see ATTAC as a political organisation partaking in a greater movement fighting neo-liberal globalisation, in other words as a social movement organisation (SMO).

⁸ Berntsen 2002:ch.3-4

In this way the organisation can in many ways be seen as a movement, and the analysis will use social movement theory to understand it.

The thesis will be organised in the following way: Chapter 2 will order the field of social movement theory, and argue that the social constructivist theory in this field, framing theory, lacks a structural level of analysis. The chapter will also present the theoretical combination of framing theory and discourse analysis applied later in the analysis. Chapter 3 will present the method applied in this project, which is an interdiscursive approach to text analysis, present the texts analysed, and discuss relevant problems and transferability. Chapter 4 is the agency part of the analysis of the success of ATTAC. It is based upon framing theory in social movement theory. Here specific efforts of describing the world in a way facilitating collective action will be identified, and the argument is that these can help explain the support the organisation received during its emergence. The chapter will also illustrate why a structural element is necessary in empirical research. Chapter 5 is the structural part of the analysis of the success of ATTAC. It is based upon discourse analysis. Here the relative success is analysed by revealing the organisation's position in regard to some discursive struggles in the field of social movements.

A basic contention in my thesis is that discourses both enable and limit the construction and perception of statements. In short, the discourses supply ATTAC with a system of signs, mainly in the form of language, which can be used strategically to construct meaning. This is seen in chapter 5. The discourses impose limits on the organisation's framing by being preconstituted and time-consuming to change, which is the emphasis of chapter 6. While chapter 4 and 5 emphasised the element in the collective action framing and order of discourse favouring the success of ATTAC in Norway, chapter 6 will study the social constructivist limitations to this success. Both active counter-framing efforts by opponents, and frame disputes within the organisation will be discussed, but the most important element is discursive inertia.

2. THEORY

Ordering theories on social movements helps in getting a better grip on them. The principle for ordering may differ, and can for example be based on persons, texts, time or theoretical influences. Usually it will be a mix, but with emphasis on one of them. The principle for my ordering will be level of analysis or factors of explanation. Model 1 list different ways of explaining organisational forms and success, and tries to link these to basic theoretical ideas and concepts. Section 2.1-2.3 will also be a brief overview over social movement theories, even though the emphasis will be on forms of explanations. The ordering will be based on the American tradition. In contemporary Europe interest and research has centred round “New social movement theory”.¹

The discussion in this chapter is summarised in three models constructed to illustrate the theoretical background and present some assumptions for the analysis. Model 1 orders forms of explaining social phenomena, in this case social movements. Model 2 illustrates the traditional agency-centred argument in social constructivist theories in social movement theory (framing theory), and model 3 illustrates my argument that social constructivist approaches to social movements must include a structural element. The structural element is included through the insights from discourse analysis. The main theoretical point is that framing theory needs a structural element, which is absent in the contemporary version, and that discourse analysis underestimate the role of agency. Model 3 illustrates the theoretical interdependency between agency and structure in a language-based analysis, and the empirical part in chapter 4-6 will be an example on how it can be applied to a particular case study.

The main divisions constructed in this chapter will first be between realist and social constructivist explanations, and secondly, between explanations focusing on structure or agency. The model will resemble ordering based on theoretical ideas, which is to be expected since choice of theory often decides the emphasis of the study.

¹ Klandermans and Tarrow 1988. New social movement theory has with an emphasis on identity and ideology discussed the emergence of a new form of social movements and organisations. In my thesis I have emphasised the discursive part of this change in chapter 5, where it is seen as one of the reasons for ATTAC Norway's success.

Model 1 is based upon the factors that have been emphasised in recent social movement theory, and discussed by McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, namely political opportunities, mobilising structures and framing processes.² They stress the interrelationship between the three, and this combined with the idea that the specific empirical case will decide which one to emphasise is important for my discussion.

I will start by discussing political opportunities and mobilising structures in a realist tradition, actual formal and informal structures, and then move on to how the framing perspective has influenced these perspectives with its emphasis on culture and language. The framing perspective is based upon a social constructivist theory. I will also make a distinction between structure and agency level of analysis. This will be especially important for the social constructivist forms of explanation, and in my interpretation refer to the difference between discourse analysis and cultural systemic approaches on one hand, and strategic framing and performative approaches on the other. The structural constructivist element in mobilisation is downplayed in contemporary social movement theory. Model 1 and section 2.4 hence introduces discourse analysis as a possible theoretical tradition, which can prove helpful in including this element.

Model 1: Level of analysis of social movement's emergence and success.

		Political opportunities	Mobilising structures
Realist	Structure	The formal and informal organisation of the political system	The formal (resource mobilisation) and informal (political process) organisations in the field
	Agency	Creation of political opportunities	Innovations, breaks in organisational forms. Tactical repertoires.

² McAdam et al. 1996

		Political opportunities	Mobilising structures
Social Construc- tivist	Structure	The perception of the political system. Discourse.	The ways our thinking in general is structured. Discourse.
	Agency	Strategic framing of political opportunities. Rhetoric. Performative Text based	Strategic framing in general. Rhetoric. Performative Text based

2.1 Realist Approaches

Political opportunities.

Political opportunity structure is defined by Tarrow as “consistent – but not necessarily formal, permanent or national – dimensions of the political environment which either encourage or discourage people from using collective action”.³ This way of thinking springs from explanations of the emergence of social movements on the basis of changes in the institutional structure or informal power relations of a given national political system, and more recently cross-national differences in the structure, extent and success of comparable movements on the basis of differences in the political characteristics of the nation states in which they are embedded.⁴ Political opportunity has been used as key explanatory variable in regards to the timing of collective action and the outcome of movement activity, and more recently movement form has been linked to opportunities.⁵

McAdam identifies, based on readings of literature in this tradition, what he sees as a consensual list of dimensions of political opportunities. He mentions first the openness or closure of the institutionalised political system, second the stability of the set of elite alignments that undergird a polity, third the presence or absence of elite allies, and fourth the state’s capacity and propensity for repression.⁶ In other words, it is the formal legal and institutionalised political structures and the informal structure of power relations that

³ In Goldner 2001:71

⁴ McAdam et al. 1996:2

⁵ Marks and McAdam 1999:100

⁶ McAdam 1996:27

explains emergence and form of social movements.⁷ In the beginning these political opportunity structures were rather static and institutional and social movements were analysed as being profoundly affected by factors exogenous to themselves,⁸ but later the opportunity structure were extended to include more volatile structures and the insight that social movements can create political opportunities was introduced.⁹ In my model this refers to the agency part of the realist political opportunity explanations. Tarrow argues that the opportunity structure is more important for the initial social movements in a field than for the latecomers, the first movements creates opportunities and opens the field by revealing the vulnerability of the state.¹⁰ In the end this will create a new structure.

Political opportunity is a rather broad form of explanation, and is seen by many as middle-range theory combining different theoretical explanations and naming them opportunities, which is why some analytical distinctions can be helpful. Model 1 introduces both a distinction between the structural and agency level of analysis, and between realist and social constructivist understandings of political opportunity. Gamson and Meyer argue for an analytic distinction between stable and volatile aspects of political opportunities and one between cultural and institutional explanations¹¹. The latter resembles the distinction in model 1 between realist (institutional) and social constructivist (cultural) explanations, but there are some differences. Meyer and Gamson's list of cultural explanations includes factors such as climate, "zeitgeist" and national mood while model 1's social constructivist explanations focus more on the role of signs and language either in the form of discourse or strategic framing. In this way, it lends itself easier to empirical studies than vague concepts such as zeitgeist or national mood.

Political opportunity can, in an agency-centred analysis, be connected to rational choice theory in that it is more or less taken for granted that participants measure the relative costs in participating, and base their tactics on this measurement. In a more structural analysis this is often an underlying assumption, but it is not necessarily the case.

⁷These political structures have traditionally been national, but with the increasing international co-operation the international political opportunity structure has become a more important determinant of social movement characteristics.

⁸ Meyer and Staggenborg 1996:1633

⁹ McAdam 1996:35; Gamson and Meyer 1996; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996:1634

¹⁰ Tarrow 1996:58-61

¹¹ Gamson and Meyer 1996:281

The implicit rational choice assumption has been criticised,¹² as well as the assumption that grievances remain relatively constant.¹³

Mobilising structures

Explanations in the mobilising structures perspective can be divided into theories of resource mobilisation and the political process model. The main difference between the two is that resource mobilisation discusses formal organisations while the political process model also includes other groups without formal or recognised power. Resource mobilisation focus on how excluded groups mobilise their resources to gain access to the political system. The political process approach directs attention to how social movements emerge as a function of changes in the political system and changes within the aggrieved population.¹⁴ Leaving out the differences between the two, mobilising structures can be defined as “those collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action”.¹⁵ In realist mobilising structures explanations the crucial objects of study are meso-level groups: organisations and formal and informal networks. These are seen as comprising the building blocks of social movements. McCarthy expands this by including particular tactical repertoires, social movement organisational forms, and modular social movement repertoires.¹⁶ The main difference he emphasises is between formal and informal structures, and between movement and non-movement structures.¹⁷ One example of explanations based on mobilising structure is Gamson’s *Strategy of Social Protest*, considered one of the seminal works in this tradition.¹⁸ It is basically an effort to identify movement characteristics that distinguish successful protest from unsuccessful, and the most important finding was that organisations

¹² Melucci 1996, he argues the political opportunity approach leaves out dimensions that resist reduction to political exchange, a critique triggering the turn towards studying organisational culture as a separate factor of explanation.

¹³ In opportunity explanations it is often taken for granted that improvements in political opportunity induce collective action, but the critique emphasises that grievances are constructed socially. For example Loveman (1998:485) emphasises that repressive action from the state under certain conditions actually creates social movements. This critique has also been directed against the mobilising structure approach.

¹⁴ Culverson 1996:129

¹⁵ McAdam et al. 1996:3

¹⁶ McCarthy 1996:141

¹⁷ McCarthy 1996:142-45. Formal structures are for example churches and SMOs and informal structures are friendship networks and memory communities. Movement structures are for example memory communities and SMOs and non-movement structures churches and friendship networks.

¹⁸ Gamson 1975

must stay unified to achieve their goals, and that internal politics and relation to other groups are crucial.¹⁹ Another example of this way of thinking is Kriesi's study of new social movements.²⁰ He discusses the building blocks of the mobilising structures of social movements, and concludes that they consist of SMOs, kinship and friendship networks, informal networks among activists, movement communities, and formal organisations. Both these studies are examples of realist mobilising structure explanations of movement form and success.

Later developments in this perspective have been to compare the infrastructure in different countries to explain mobilisation, to specify the relationship between organisational form and type of movement, and to assess the effect of both state structures and "organisational cultures" on the form that movements take.²¹ The latter combined with influence from social psychology, gave rise to studies of diffusion and isomorphism in the field of social movements. This influence was partly mediated by the new institutionalism in theory of organisations.²² In model 1 these explanations are called social constructivist, they focus on the systems of meaning and production of statements, and are separated from the realist ones that focus on actual organisations and networks. I will return to this in the section on framing.

In Walton and Ragin's interpretation of the resource mobilisation theory persistent discontent is likely to take form when 1) struggle for power provide an opening for aggrieved groups, 2) the cost of acting are perceived as low, 3) collectives organise, and 4) authority begins to disintegrate.²³ We recognise from the political opportunity approach the tendency to see grievances and discontent as a taken for granted exogenous factor, even though point three opens up for active actors. The first and the last point resembles political opportunity explanations, the second is a rational choice idea combined with the insight that perception is crucial for action, and the third is the agency explanations in the mobilising structures perspective. Agency in the field of social movements is seen both in innovations, and in adaptations of known forms.²⁴ It is important to remember that the structures social

¹⁹ Frey, Dietz and Kalof 1992:383-84, other important determinants of success were group goals, organisation, tactics and the social context (ibid:368-69).

²⁰ Kriesi 1996:152

²¹ McAdam et al. 1996:4

²² e.g. Voss 1996 and Clemens 1996

²³ Walton and Ragin 1990:878

²⁴ McCarthy 1996:148

movements can mobilise are not only given, but that they also can be created actively. This is the agency part of the realist mobilising structures explanations in model 1.

As we can see from Walton and Ragin's article the differences between explanations based on political opportunities and mobilising structures are not overwhelming.²⁵ The main difference is that the opportunity perspective focuses more exclusively on political organisations, and that it is more structural in its analysis. The mobilising structures perspective is agency-centred in that it tries to identify which vehicles people mobilise to engage in collective action. One of the similarities is that they assert a rational choice thinking among the participants in social movements.²⁶ Rational choice theory, can among other things, be criticised for neglecting value differences and conflicts, and for presupposing a pseudo-universal individual without a history or social embeddedness.²⁷

Why use social constructivist theories in this case

In all case studies several forms of explanation must be applied, but some forms will be more important than others depending on the case at hand. Social constructivist theories are interesting in discussing ATTAC Norway's fast growth and the attention it got for three reasons. First, because the organisation emerged in several countries, 35 in March 2002, with variance in both political opportunity structure and organisational structure, thus, these cannot explain the success in the different countries on their own. The collective action framing, or sets of beliefs, presented by the organisation were on the other hand transnational, making them relevant for a study of the success. The active framing, and the transnational character of the content of the frames, will be explored in chapter 4.

Second, constructivist theories are interesting because there were no changes in the political opportunity structure or in the organisational structure in Norway great enough to explain the magnitude of the organisation's breakthrough. McAdam emphasises framing processes as an important factor when there is an absence of significant change in the

²⁵ Walton and Ragin 1990

²⁶ Mueller 1992:5

²⁷ Ferree 1992:31. It came into social movement theory partly as response to the irrational actor view from the American collective behaviour tradition (Gamson 1992a:54).

political system or relative power position of challenging groups.²⁸ In Norway the organisational pattern had not changed much. There were no major changes in the political system, and no major changes among the groups without formal power.

Third, constructivist theories are interesting because the common way of explaining the emergence of ATTAC is contested, while the emergence of discourses connected to these alleged changes are harder to dispute. The common way of explaining the emergence, theories of the material process of globalisation and the “real” emergence of distinctively new social movements, are the ones advocated by ATTAC. These developments are difficult to assess, and the changes or break with the past is not as great as the sudden success of the organisation indicate. The changes in discourse on the other hand, have been extensive, and the development here also represents a break. I will return to this in chapter 5. Discourses are necessary to understand motivation and hence used in my analysis to understand the emergence of the branch in Norway.

The analysis explores social constructivist perspectives in depth, but this does not mean that the realist approaches will be rejected principally. Resource mobilisation is clearly important, because ATTAC managed to connect to important persons and organisations in the field. In this way the stability in the field becomes important. Still there must be a triggering mechanism, a reason for the established organisations to become interested in ATTAC, and in this case the triggering mechanism was the attention the organisation got in the media and the appeal it had in the public. In this way it is closely linked to my argument, which tries to understand this attention and appeal. It would be interesting to study how the organisation used the resources in the established field of social movements in Norway, to get attention and support. In such a study my conclusions could serve as a condition for the interest of the established organisations.

Political opportunities are also important, but they need to be realised by the participants, and these common perceptions of political opportunities will be important in the analysis. The realist political opportunities had not changed significantly. In comparison, in France there had been great changes that encouraged the organisation through the changes in politics and the declining economy. The strength of the parties on the political right combined with decreasing income to the state made prime minister Alain

²⁸ McAdam 1996:26

Juppe challenge some of the policies that was seen as being at the core of the political left, namely labour rights and welfare.²⁹ This caused the successful December strikes that paralysed the country in 1995.³⁰ The closure of unemployment, economic insecurity, and the Juppe-plan combined with the memory of the successful mobilising is probably crucial when understanding ATTAC in France. In Norway these changes were minor. The government shifted from labour (AP) to the parties in the political centre (KRF, V, SP) in 1997, and then back to labour in 2000. The last government was a coalition of the centre (KRF, V) and the conservative party (H) instated on the 19th of October 2001. Still, the constitution of the national assembly remained much the same. There were not any major attacks on the welfare state, not any great changes in policy, and the economy was rising. Consequently, I have in the continuing chosen to leave out the realist explanations. This will at the same time make the theoretical part of the thesis clearer. If the aim were solely to get a coherent empirical explanation, the realist approaches would have had to be included.

2.2 Social Constructivist Approaches

In model 1 the framing perspective as described by McAdam et al. is seen as a social constructivist theory.³¹ This means that where the realist explanations focus on actual organisations, social constructivist understandings focus on how knowledge is produced and how our perception function. As a consequence of both the theory and method of this perspective, there is now a move away from talking about “explanations” to “understandings”. The realist approach is ontological while the social constructivist reduces ontology to epistemology. The tradition can be lead back to Durkheim’s claim that classifications of nature, and thereby reality as we see it, are “constructed by men”.³² Language is important both in structuring impressions that would otherwise overwhelm us, and in making us able to understand new phenomena. The approach rests on an idea that reality is a product of social processes deciding how we understand the world, and that the best way to find facts about reality is to study how individuals together make sense of it.

²⁹ I here use the familiar "right-left continuum", a construction of a cumulative scale often used both in academic and popular categorisations of political parties and policies. It will later be discussed how ATTAC challenged this important categorisation of political actors.

³⁰ Helle 2000

³¹ McAdam et al. 1996

³² Barnes 1995:97

Reality and knowledge is not seen as objectively given, but created by humans through perception. This leads to theories that centre on how participants in social movements understand and interpret the world around them, which is seen as the crucial determinant for collective action. Despite great internal differences, social constructivist theories share some premises. First, they have a critical attitude towards knowledge. Reality is only available for us through categories and these categories are historical and culturally embedded, hence knowledge is deprived of the objective status it has in modernity and made dependent on time and culture. Second, they share an idea that knowledge is created in social processes, through struggles of defining, and that this knowledge determines social action.³³ When knowledge is a product of struggles of defining and at the same time determines actions, studying processes where knowledge is constructed becomes essential.

One of the major aims of model 1 is to introduce a structural social constructivist element into McAdam et al.'s ordering of social movement explanation factors in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*.³⁴ Zald writes that the turn to culture and language in the social sciences had many structural sources. He names among others French structuralism, semiotics and discourse analysis, but still he limits the influences discussed in the framing part of McAdam et al. to theories focusing on the part played by creative actors.³⁵ In model 1, the structural part is introduced as an important level for understanding social movements, and the origin is mainly theories springing from French structuralism and semiotics. The present thesis will focus especially on the work of Michel Foucault and Norman Fairclough. The distinction between agency and structural approaches in the model equals the distinction between framing as defined by Snow: "the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action",³⁶ and discourse in a macroscopic interpretation.³⁷ At a general level it can be traced back to the difference between a Weberian actor centred view, and a Durkheimian view that collective

³³ Burr 1995 in Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:13-14

³⁴ McAdam et al. 1996

³⁵ Zald 1996:264. These theories are: 1) depth analysis of culture in symbols in anthropology, 2) frames and scripts from Goffman and the cognitive revolution in social psychology, 3) dramatisic and rhetorical analysis and 4) culture as tool kits and repertoires of action.

³⁶ McAdam et al.:1996:6

³⁷ Johnston 1995:219. It also equals the distinction between a performative and a systemic view of culture in Johnston and Klandermans (1995).

representations are vehicles of processes in which publicly shared symbols constitute social groups through constraining and giving form to individual consciousness.³⁸ In the latter systemic view, symbols constitute groups instead of reflecting them. Another distinction between agency and structural approaches is that the former often focus on particular texts, written or spoken, while the latter often have broader units such as discourses or culture as the object of study. In empirical studies, the discourse analysis focuses on the implicit meanings by seeing statements as a part of discourses, while framing theory analyses the functions of the particular statements for mobilising.

Snow and Benford along with McAdam et al.'s interpretation of the framing concept is controversial, and there are a lot of writers in this tradition understanding framing more as a combination of systemic and performative explanations.³⁹ For the sake of clarity though, it is helpful to keep the levels apart initially and then try to combine them later in the analysis. Framing in the way that McAdam et al. and Snow and Benford use it is also known as strategic framing. The term frame is borrowed from Goffman,⁴⁰ and describes "schemata of interpretation" used by individuals to attach meaning to events and occurrences.⁴¹ Diani views frames among other things as abstract forms of political rhetoric more than as belief systems, this understanding emphasise the difference between a specific frame and the larger political ideologies and discourses.⁴² Zald elaborates by defining frames as "specific metaphors, symbolic representations, and cognitive cues used to render or cast behavior and events in an evaluative mode and to suggest alternative modes of action".⁴³ The basic idea is that varying issue-presentations change individual's responses to an issue.⁴⁴ Snow and Benford state that the success of participants mobilisation depends on how movements attend to framing tasks such as diagnostic framing, prognostic framing and motivational framing. In other words a frame should encompass a diagnosis and prognosis of a problem, and a call to action for its resolution.⁴⁵ Compared to ideologies frames are less complex and logical, but frames are often embedded in ideologies.

³⁸ Swidler 1995:26

³⁹ e. g. Gamson and Meyer 1996; Gamson 1995; Johnston and Klandermans 1995:8

⁴⁰ Goffman 1974

⁴¹ Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford 1986:464

⁴² Diani 1996:1058

⁴³ Zald 1996:262

⁴⁴ Jacoby 2000:750-51

⁴⁵ In Cress and Snow 2000:1071

Ideologies are here defined as the set of beliefs that are used to justify or challenge a given social-political order.

At a more general level we find culture, which Zald sees, as shared beliefs and understandings mediated and constituted by symbols and language.⁴⁶ Compared to culture, discourse is an easier concept to apply in an analysis, because its meaning is clearer. In model 1, discourses replace culture as the language-mediated system for understanding the world. A discourse in the sense it will be used in my analysis, can be thought of as “a system for producing statements and practices, that by being seen as more or less normal constitute reality for its carriers, and introduces a certain degree of regularity in a set of social relations”.⁴⁷ The other way discourse is applied in social science comes from linguistics, where it simply refers to “spoken or written language use”.⁴⁸ It is important to keep these two definitions separate, since the first is embedded in and cannot be understood outside post-structural theory, while the second only refers to the use of language.

Constructivism in social movement theory

In social movement theory the interest in social constructivism came with the turn to culture,⁴⁹ but a social constructivist approach is not necessarily limited to a study of culture. Later the same methods were used to extend the explanations in the approaches of both political opportunities and mobilising structures. Gamson and Meyer argue the political opportunity structure is a product of framing processes, and that a political opportunity must be perceived as one by the participant to have any real influence. Apart from this general insight, they also include cultural variables into political opportunities. These include both public discourse in the linguistic sense of the word, and media frames.⁵⁰ The cultural explanation is divided into stable and volatile elements. The stable elements are belief systems and world-views, a part of the discourse or cultural system, while the volatiles are frames and public discourses. It makes sense in that the volatile elements are more open for deliberate action, while the system view is more deterministic. This explains

⁴⁶ Zald 1996:262

⁴⁷ Neumann 2001a:17, my translation

⁴⁸ Fairclough 1995a:54

⁴⁹ Johnston and Klandermans 1995:4; Melucci 1996:42

⁵⁰ Gamson and Meyer 1996:281

why the agency explanations in the social constructivist tradition focus on frames, while the structural explanations focus on the discourse. It can also be the other way around, if one study frames one will tend to end up with a voluntaristic theory, while if one study discourses one will end up with a deterministic theory.

In the political opportunities perspective emphasis on framing processes led among other things to the insight that political opportunities had to be perceived to be valid, and that framing political opportunities in a favourable way is a crucial strategy for social movements to be successful. Gamson refers to the latter as the agency part of the collective action frame,⁵¹ and Gamson and Meyer states that activists systematically overestimate the degree of political opportunities through “rhetoric of change”.⁵²

In social constructivist mobilising structures explanations, the emphasis is on those mental collective vehicles people get mobilised by, when they engage in collective action. More concrete, it is discourses, scripts, ideologies, and frames that can be found in the environment of social movements. Compared to McCarthy’s list of structures, particular tactical repertoires, social movement organisational forms, and modular social movement repertoires,⁵³ the social constructive counterpart are cognitive tactical repertoires and systems of thinking about organisations and the world, all transmitted in language by discourses and frames. The distinction between agency and structural explanations in the constructivist mobilising structures approach, resemble the one in the constructivist political opportunities explanations, but here the structures are not restricted to perceptions of the political system. In a constructivist mobilising structures approach, the structures are all kinds of discourses and frames that can play a part in movements, some of them more political than other, but all crucial in a movement with political goals. In the realist explanations the importance of informal structures such as the family was introduced, and the counterpart in the social constructive theories can be for example a flexibility discourse or particular representations and stories.

There has been some critique of the framing perspective in social movement literature. I will focus on one aspect of this critique in this thesis, namely the before mentioned lack of a structural element. Steinberg elaborates this, and emphasises that

⁵¹ Gamson 1995:90

⁵² Gamson and Meyer 1996:285

⁵³ McCarthy 1996:141

discourses impose boundaries on the ways in which people understand and represent their life. He accuses the framing perspective of being too voluntaristic.⁵⁴ The other and related critique he presents is that the framing perspective has assumed that an issue (through frames) can be represented directly, the reference-view on language, leaving out that the words used can be interpreted differently by the percipients.⁵⁵ Frames are not only a product of the social movement participants, but also a product of social interaction and how streams of language themselves interact. The present thesis has tried to include some of this critique by introducing structural constructivist theory.

Summarised, model 1 serves two functions for this research project: First it draws an analytical distinction between realist political opportunities and social constructivist political opportunities, the latter which can help us explain the emergence and growth of ATTAC Norway in the absence of great “real” changes. Second, it introduces discourse analysis as the structural constructivist element lacking in the dominant framing perspective in the field of social movement research. The analysis will try to combine the insights from both the framing tradition and the tradition of discourse analysis in the analysis of the empirical case, thereby both demonstrating the necessary connection between the two sets of concepts, and present a possible understanding of the emergence and success of ATTAC in Norway.

2.3 Framing theory

Background

The focus upon agency has been crucial in the framing tradition. In Benford and Snow’s overview and assessment of the framing processes in social movement theory, they state that movements as actors are actively engaged in production of meaning, that framing is agency in that what is evolving is the work of social movement activists, and that collective action frames are a product of framing activity.⁵⁶

To understand the concept “frame” some clarification is necessary. Zald uses frame to describe the specific metaphors and symbols that are used to cast behaviour in an

⁵⁴ Steinberg 1999:743

⁵⁵ Steinberg 1999:740

⁵⁶ Benford and Snow 2000:614

evaluative mode.⁵⁷ In other words these are small frames that are used as building blocks for the greater frames that comes closer to Goffman's original "schemata of interpretation". The small frames attach meaning to events and experiences, and usually the meaning is given by reference to a larger frame. In the next section I will describe the small frames, cognitive cues, representations and stories, used in the analysis. The most important distinction in this project is that the frame is a product of strategic framing by actors (individuals or organisations), while discourse and representations are contingent structural element in language and thinking. The opposition between the voluntarism and determinism of the two perspectives is exaggerated in this analysis, and there is no problem in finding elements of structural thinking in framing theory or vice versa. Generally both traditions admit that there are parts of both, but in empirical studies they still tend to follow the tradition. The same meaning constructing system can be termed frame by some and discourse or representation by others. Framing theorists will for example see the anti-modernisation symbolic as a part of a master frame constructed by some organisations (e.g. environmentalists), while theorists with a discourse analytical view will see it as a discourse that has established itself without the control of specific actors. In my analysis I will try to combine these two approaches to show how they can be interrelated in a particular case.

Frame is used by some scholars in the same way as the concept "schema", as the individual processes of construction of meaning. This is the way it is applied in psychology.⁵⁸ Frame in my analysis will be more in the line of Benford and Snow's understanding as the outcome of negotiated and shared meaning.⁵⁹ Still, the link to human perception is one of the basic elements of framing theory and social constructivism. Reality must be perceived by humans to become reality, and opportunities must be perceived to be opportunities. The move away from the individual perception is based on the idea that our perception is a product of interaction with others, which makes frames a social construction. In Snow and his colleagues first major article on the theme, the alignment processes points to the link between social constructed frames and individual perception, by describing the four different ways the organisational frames can be adopted by

⁵⁷ Zald 1996

⁵⁸ e.g. Johnston 1995

⁵⁹ Benford and Snow 2000:614

participants.⁶⁰ These strategic processes are first frame bridging: the linking of congruent frames for example between a social movement and individuals, second frame amplification: the embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values and beliefs, third frame extension: the inclusion of frames that are presumed to be of importance to potential adherents, and fourth frame transformation: the changing of old understandings and the creation of new.⁶¹

Even though perception is poorly theorised in the framing perspective, the tradition rest upon some theories of it. The insight comes from social psychology, and is represented in sociology among others by G. H. Mead (a social psychologist), A. Schutz, Berger and Luckman, and Goffman. We attach meaning to experiences by relating them to familiar categories and concepts, which makes us able to make sense of them. In social movement framing theory these categories and concepts are the objects of study, their intersubjective existence is emphasised, and they are seen as the product of strategic framing. It is not clear though, whether some of the categories are seen as individual cognitive structures shared by everybody across time and culture, as in much cognitive psychology, or whether they are seen as products of historical and social processes. Discourse analysis emphasises the latter.⁶²

Categories and concepts are carried by systems of signs, and language plays a crucial role as the most advanced system. Our understanding of reality will have to pass through language. Still, it can be discussed how important language is, and a common criticism is that too much emphasis is put on it. There is not enough space to discuss this issue here, and the pragmatic attitude will be to focus on language because of the case at hand. Social mobilisation is a phenomenon that basically relies on mediation by language, and written texts are important in the field. It does not leave out that the discourse or frame can be seen in social practice or in materiality. Another important insight is that the understanding of texts, written, spoken or materialised, depends heavily on setting and recipients.⁶³

⁶⁰ Snow et al. 1986

⁶¹ Benford and Snow 2000:624-625

⁶² Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:105-112

⁶³ This has been advocated and demonstrated by Stuart Hall with his move from a theory of “preferred reading” (1980) to a theory of “articulation”(1986) and also repeatedly by John Fiske (e.g 1989).

Another related issue is the question of the relationship between practical knowledge and discursive knowledge. Many will argue that most of the knowledge on which we base our actions is practical, and seldom represented in language.⁶⁴ The stand taken on this issue here will be the same as above, that this particular case makes language-mediated knowledge central compared to practical knowledge. For the type of actions discussed here, such as joining a social movement etc., processes of discursive legitimating will often be involved, and this makes language studies more relevant in these cases than in studies of other forms of action.

Cognitive cues, representations and stories

The small frames, or the building blocks of frames and discourses, used in the analysis will be cognitive cues, representations and stories. The concepts are taken from framing theory (cognitive cues), discourse analysis (representations), or both (stories), but they will be used in a particular way in this thesis. In the present chapter I will reveal how they can be seen as mediators between framing theory and discourse analysis, and agency and structure. The particular representations, cues and stories are often chosen by the participants because of their mobilising functions, and in many cases these mobilising functions come from their embedding in discourses. The latter opens up for studying structures, and assist us see their influence on social and discursive practice. In chapter 4, 5 and 6, I will use them in the empirical study.

Cognitive cues are words with a particular meaning in a discourse. They can be used to indicate the presence of certain discourses in a text. By identifying cognitive cues we understand more of the processes concerning the reading of a text, and thereby also the effects of the texts. They provide the reader with a clue to what systems of meaning they shall understand statements, and in this way they become crucial when we study the effects of statements. “Diversity” is an example of a cognitive cue, in an analysis it can indicate a representation of diversity, or a discourse of diversity.

Representations are the way things and phenomena appear to us, or packages of reality claims. A discourse consists of a set of representations.⁶⁵ The representations are

⁶⁴ e.g. Bourdieu 1990:30-41

⁶⁵ Neumann 2001a:33,177

crucial parts of the discourses, and they can have a dominating position in a discourse, or there can be several competing representations. A representation is a specific reality claim while discourse is broader. For example, the representation of diversity can be that “diversity is effective for goal achievement in an organisation”, while discourse would be more generally talk of diversity. When a representation has a dominant position in a discourse, it is a closed discourse, and when there are several competing representations, it is an open one. In the same way as there are struggles between representations in a discourse, there will also be struggles between discourses to define the categories and concepts that constitutes our world.⁶⁶ These struggles will be an important part of the empirical analysis later.

Finally, stories are small chronologically told events that are used to make a point or support an argument. They have a beginning, middle and an end, presents actors with particular identities, and has an easy understandable morale. It is important that the word story does not imply anything about the truthfulness of the event in question. What matters is the function and message of the story. In relation to discourses, stories can be autonomous, or be an important part of the discourse. In a diversity discourse, a story of the success of an organisation with great differences among the employees, could serve to legitimate the representation of diversity being effective. This representation would, along with other representations, be an important part of the discourse of diversity.

For the sake of clarity, my analysis will not refer to these small frames as frames, but rather use more specific indicators, such as cognitive cues, representations and stories. Frames will refer to larger deliberate construction made up of “small frames”, which organise experience and guide action. Collective action frames will be emphasised since these are the most important for the field, and the ones most developed in framing literature. The particular frames, the set of beliefs, are movement-specific and have mobilising functions for the organisation. The importance for social movements comes from the insight that frame alignment between movements and the participants are necessary for mobilisation.

⁶⁶ Neumann 2001a:21

Collective action frames

In theory of social movements the frames discussed are mainly collective action frames. These collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns.⁶⁷ They are distinct for each movement and perform three functions characteristic for these kinds of frames. The first is the punctuating or focusing, which means singling out some conditions that is seen as unjust, often a condition that previously is seen as unfortunate or tolerable. Second they function as modes of attribution by making diagnostic and prognostic attributions. Diagnostic framing is concerned with problem identification (who is to blame?) and prognostic framing with problem resolution (what can be done about it?). Collective action frames also articulate different events and experiences so that they hang together in a unified and meaningful fashion.⁶⁸ Through interpretation work by active actors frames are constructed that are “intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists”.⁶⁹ In Snow and Benford’s view collective action frames encompass diagnostic frames, prognostic frames and motivational frames. The latter meaning that there must be some rationale for engaging in collective action, or some articulation of a motive.⁷⁰

Gamson lists three components of collective action frames that bear resemblance to the ones mentioned. These are injustice frames, agency frames and identity frames.⁷¹ The injustice frames include Benford and Snow’s diagnosis of the problem, and it is emphasised that it is not merely an intellectual but also a “hot cognition” of moral indignation. In model 2 the prognosis is also included in this frame. The agency frame equals the motivational frame and advocates the possibility of altering conditions and policies. The idea is that one has to believe that change is possible to become engaged in social movement activities, which often leads to what Gamson and Meyer call a “rhetoric of change”, or overestimating the degree of political opportunities and the importance of the organisation.⁷² The identity frames are the identification of a “we” as opposed to “them”, which resembles the classical

⁶⁷ Snow and Benford 1992

⁶⁸ Snow and Benford 1992:137-138

⁶⁹ Snow and Benford 1988:198

⁷⁰ Benford and Snow 2000:617

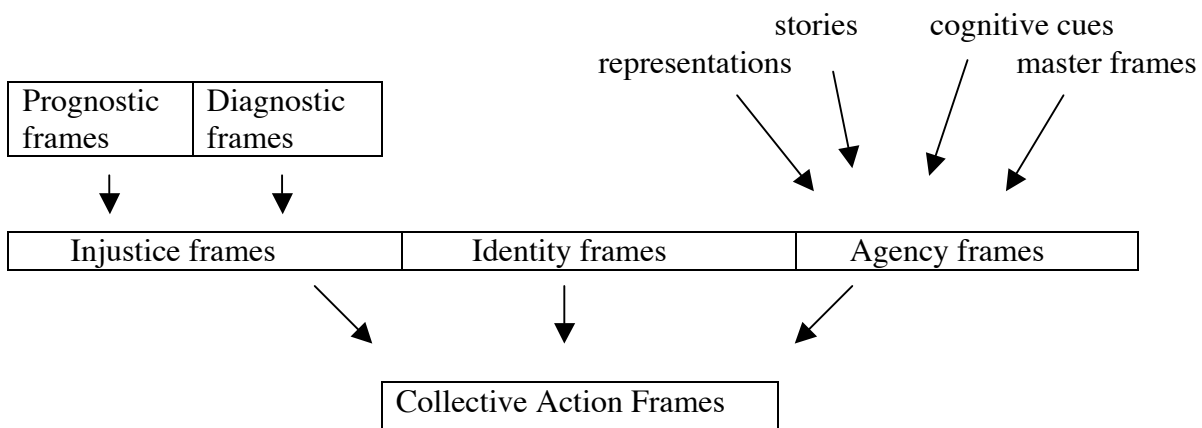
⁷¹ Gamson 1992a; 1995

⁷² Gamson and Meyer 1996

identity component of organisations in theory of organisations, and the in-group out-group mechanisms in psychology. The objective is to build a collective identity that makes the “we” become more important than the individual. If identity framing is successful and a common identity is constructed, social mobilisation becomes easier.

Whether we use Gamson’s or Snow and Benford’s classification, or come up with other components of collective action frames, is not important. The point is that organisations and movements use framing to mobilise participants, and that these frames even though their substance differ, serve the same functions for the organisation. As already mentioned identity, injustice and agency framing is actively using stories, representations and cognitive cues in the making of a frame. It will be an important point later that these must be drawn from and are situated in culture and language. Other resources that can be drawn upon are larger cultural constructions such as cultural themes, master frames or discourses. Swidler’s metaphor “culture as a tool kit” illustrates the agency-centred argument in model 2.⁷³ Framing is signifying work, and collective action frames are the products of movement and organisational framing to garner support.

Model 2: Collective action frames in framing theory.



After the framing efforts by the organisations the diffusion of the frames will be dependent upon their resonance with the audience. Snow and Benford discuss constraints to the

⁷³ Swidler 1986

framing, and divide them into infrastructural constraints, phenomenological constraints, and constraints by cycles of protest or master frames.⁷⁴

The infrastructural constraints are internal and refer to the belief system as a whole. The values and beliefs that are promoted must be central in the hierarchical system of belief to be successful. Framing can of course influence this, by changing the order, but it is generally an advantage if it is already central in the general belief system. The range and interrelatedness of beliefs are also of importance. First in that relying on one core belief makes it vulnerable if this belief is called into question, and secondly if it rests on several linked beliefs these must be internally coherent to avoid losing participants that may agree on one issue but not all of them.

The phenomenological constraints refers to whether the “framing strikes a responsive chord with those individuals for whom it is intended”.⁷⁵ Snow and Benford mention empirical credibility, the fit between framing and events in the world, and experiential commensurability, the personal experience of the participants. In a social constructivist theory these are problematic, because they seem to imply a real objective world not shaped by frames and discourses. In a constructionist epistemology in which framing theory rest, references to an objective world that actors can have access to should be avoided.⁷⁶ Still, their remarks can give us ideas about diffusion constraints of framing efforts, but then as a part of the last phenomenological constraint namely narrative fidelity or cultural resonance. This means that events in the world and personal experiences must be mediated by cultural narrations. In other words, it must be mediated by familiar elements of culture to strike a responsive chord among the recipients. This is done by being framed in the main discourses in society, which makes it recognisable, understandable and hence more acceptable. Since in the social constructivist view all experiences and events are given meaning by reference to a discourse or frame, cultural resonance or how well it is positioned in these discourses or frames determines the success of the framing efforts.

In this way, cultural resonance is connected to constraint by cycles of protest. Cycles of protest are repertoires of protest tactics and activities that change in history.

⁷⁴ Snow and Benford 1988

⁷⁵ Snow and Benford 1988:207

⁷⁶ Crossley 2002:141

Snow and Benford link this to master frames, broad units constructed by former organisations that constrain framing efforts of later organisations.⁷⁷

Framing can be seen as a contest between different groups to persuade authorities and the general audience of the rightness of the cause,⁷⁸ but it is also an internal contest in the organisation to define situations and come up with prognosis.⁷⁹ There will seldom be consensual frames in an organisation and discussing a movement's framing is always a simplification, which will be illustrated in the case of ATTAC Norway later.

Master frames

In Snow and Benford's article "Master frames and cycles of protest", they elaborate their view on master frames, which is the closest we come to a defined structural element in their theories.⁸⁰ Master frames are collective action frames that are broad in scope and colours and constrain the framing and activities of other movements.⁸¹ Movement-specific frames can then be derived from the generic master frames. Examples of the latter are choice frames, hegemonic frames and rights frames. Their argument is that these master frames are the products of earlier movement's framing activity, and that they serve the same function, attribution, articulation and mobilising potency, as the collective action frame, but on a larger scale.⁸² Still, these functions vary because the master frames are limited by a more elaborated linguistic code, which in this way are both an advantage and a disadvantage. By including them they want to extend their analysis from a microlevel to a macrolevel.⁸³ It becomes a macrolevel because the master frames are frames shared by several organisations, but the question remains if master frames introduce a structural element challenging actor's agency?

In one way the master frames can be seen as cognitive structures limiting framing activity, because they have constructed a language and a repertoire of action that movements must relate to whether they want to or not. But Snow and Benford never really

⁷⁷ Snow and Benford 1992

⁷⁸ Zald 1996:269

⁷⁹ Gamson and Meyer 1996:283

⁸⁰ Snow and Benford 1992

⁸¹ Benford and Snow 2000:618

⁸² Snow and Benford 1992:138

⁸³ Snow and Benford 1992:134

leave the agency perspective even when writing about master frames. First, master frames are seen as earlier movement's framing, the discourses will in this way be a product of deliberate actors. Second, master frames delimit only the later organisations in a cycle of protest, not the early ones. This seems to implicate that the early organisations are free to frame in whatever way they want, not limited by cognitive structures and discourses. Third, the master frames similarity to the collective action frames blurs the difference between the two, especially concerned with the attributional orientation, articulation scope and potency, so that the master frames also seems to be goal orientated. Based on this criticism and the fact that Snow and Benford spend little time on the structural constraints, I will argue that one will have to look beyond them to get a proper inclusion of this element in explaining social movements emergence and success.

In framing theory, studies of social constructivist structures are neither developed theoretically nor applied much empirically, even though some have tried.⁸⁴ I think that rather than continue searching for this in social movement theory, it may be fruitful explore a tradition that has social constructivist structures as its main object, namely discourse analysis. The conceptual framework developed here may prove helpful in studying social movements. Some may argue that since there are discourse analytical theories including agency, my analysis could use their approach.⁸⁵ The disadvantage would be the loss of the insights from framing theory, which are helpful when studying the particularities of language use in social movements. Hence, I have suggested a synthesis of discourse analysis and framing theory, applicable for studies of language in social movements.

2.4 Discourse Analysis

Background

It is difficult to sum up a tradition that is found in different sciences, and consequently has developed differently. Empirical discourse analyses has been important in such different fields as linguistics, social sciences, and psychology, all inspired by philosophical post-structuralism. Jørgensen and Phillips divide discourse analysis into discourse theory (social

⁸⁴ e.g. Gamson 1992b and Gamson and Meyer 1996

⁸⁵ I am here basically referring to Fairclough's critical discourse analysis. His combination of agency and structures will be described in detail in the next section.

science, structurally centred, e.g. Foucault), critical discourse analysis (linguistic and social science, dialectical, Fairclough), and discourse-psychology (social psychology, agency centred).⁸⁶ The version of discourse analysis discussed here will, first, present one of the philosophical inspirations for discourse analysis. Then it will combine the general insights of Foucault with some of Fairclough's more specific theories. Discourse-psychology will be left out because framing theory already provides us with an agency perspective, and because the empirical analysis here will mainly be text analysis, and not reception studies.

One of the first to emphasise the importance of language, and the autonomous role of it, in the process of creating knowledge and meaning was Nietzsche. He questioned the traditional reference-view on language presented by Aquinas, stating instead that our differentiations and assignments are arbitrary, and that all naming is metaphors that in no way corresponds to original entities.⁸⁷ This is an important assumption shared by both discourse analysis and framing theory.⁸⁸

Foucault is heavily influenced by Nietzsche's work, and Foucault's theories illustrate well the point about the structural constraints of language. He has a broad understanding of discourse including both social practice and materiality. In his theories, it is the enonciative domain whose configuration decides the production of meaning. Statements must be produced according to rules and conditions in this domain, in other words, according to discourses. That which characterises a discourse's unity through a specific period of time, is the positivity of the discourse. These positivities are made possible by the "historical a priori", or the group of historically dependent rules that characterise a discursive practice. The whole system that makes statements possible is called the *archive*, and it consists of systems of statements produced by different positivities in accordance with historical a priories.⁸⁹ Foucault's changed the word from archive to *order of discourse*, which is the conceptualisation Fairclough develops. The

⁸⁶ Jørgensen and Phillips 1999

⁸⁷ Nietzsche 1990:81-83

⁸⁸ Some other important insights for framing theory and discourse analysis that can be lead back to Nietzsche are: 1) The emphasis on the role of language in knowledge production, evident in statements such as "still constrained, still lacking my own language for my own things" (1967:18) and in referring to his new philosophy as "the new language" (1966:119) 2) Seeing language as an exercise of power (1967:26), later developed by both Gramsci in his theory of hegemony and Foucault 3) Emphasising that language, values and thinking are organised in oppositions (1966:10,35), later developed by Levi-Strauss (1963; 1967) 4) Seeing meaning as fluid (1967:80) and 5) Seeing new phenomenon as caused by the transmission of analogies (1967:63).

⁸⁹ Foucault 1972a:126-131; Sheridan 1980:102-103

order of discourse will be important for model 3, the theoretical model for the analysis of the emergence of ATTAC.

In the essay *The discourse on language* Foucault elaborates on the structural constraints posed by discourse.⁹⁰ Here he mentions different rules of exclusion. First we are not free to say whatever we want, because of the rule of prohibition. Some themes are not allowed to comment (e.g. sexuality). Another principle of exclusion is the opposition between reason and folly. If a man is seen as insane his speech will not be a part of the common discourse. The last and most important is the opposition between true and false. Foucault states that the two former principles are more or less taken over by the “will to truth” in contemporary society.⁹¹ This “will to truth” has changed the emphasis of discourse from what it is or what it does, to what it says or to its meaning and reference to the world.⁹² This is held up by an institutional network centred round the educational system and its related production of scientific knowledge. Statements that are perceived as being “false” are excluded from discourse, giving the producers of “true” knowledge a lot of power.⁹³ Foucault’s work moved from an “archaeological” approach heavily influenced by French structuralism in analysing epistemes that shapes all knowledge production in a historic period, to a “genealogical” analysis inspired by Nietzsche that reveals the struggles between different discourses in a field.⁹⁴ It is the latter, the post-structural approach, which has been most influential in discourse analysis.

Another set of rules that control discourse is the internal ones, through texts of commentary, the unifying element of the author and the discipline.⁹⁵ These are principles of limitation. A statement must fulfil certain conditions to belong to a discipline, and a field is constrained by these ordering mechanisms because knowledge production depends on them. The genres for example are important limitations restricting statements.

The last set of constraint on discourse are the ones more external to it. These are the ritual or the set of signs that accompany discourse, the “fellowship of discourse” that may

⁹⁰ Foucault 1972b

⁹¹ Foucault 1972b:216-219

⁹² Sheridan 1980:123

⁹³ Much of Foucault’s work consist of linking the production of knowledge with historical systems of knowledge, such as the juridical system and the forms of punishment in *Discipline and punishment* (1994/1977), and with the sciences biology, philology and economics in *The order of things* (1970).

⁹⁴ The best example of the archaeological Foucault is *The order of things* (1970), while the best example of the genealogical Foucault is *The history of sexuality* vol.1 (1978).

⁹⁵ Foucault 1972b:220-223

control that discourse only circulates within a closed community (e.g. medical discourse), and the control by the educational system through the control of the possibilities of appropriation of discourse.⁹⁶

Summarised, Foucault's theories present a strong argument for assuming that framing efforts necessarily will be constrained by the archive or the order of discourse. Still, despite of the great insights Foucault gives us there are some weaknesses that make his framework difficult to apply directly to empirical analysis. Fairclough mentions three problems, of which the two first are most important for this discussion.⁹⁷ The first one is the lack of agency in Foucault's theories. It seems as if resistance, struggle and deliberate change is impossible.⁹⁸ This is in stark contrast to framing theory where we have seen that agency is a basic assumption. Model 3 and my analysis will propose a theoretical approach that places itself in between these two opposites, with agency being possible inside a discursive order. The stand resembles Fairclough's dialectical position where subjects are ideologically positioned, but capable of acting creatively.⁹⁹ The second criticism concerns the lack of analysis of specific texts. Fairclough asserts that this is connected to the first problem. Without analysis of particular texts it is difficult to arrive at conclusions about practice, and consequently difficult to see the actors.

The third problem is much more complex and there will not be enough space to present the whole discussion here. It concerns the discussion of the relation between discourse, social practice and material reality. Fairclough emphasises that discursive practice takes place in an already constituted reality, which leads him to include the level "social practice" in his framework for the analysis of a communicative event.¹⁰⁰ Social practice is in this case preconstituted subject-positions, identities, and forms of interaction etc. Fairclough accuses Foucault of overstating the constitutive effects of discourse thereby overestimating the contingency of the social, and of having a schematic view of the effects of discourse. Social practice and material reality, which in his view are outside the discourse, will influence the reception and interpretation of statements and limit the

⁹⁶ Foucault 1972b:224-227

⁹⁷ Fairclough 1992:ch.2

⁹⁸ The criticism applies generally to what is called discourse theory in Jørgensen and Phillips (1999). Laclau and Mouffe (1985) are important writers in this tradition.

⁹⁹ Fairclough 1992:91

¹⁰⁰ Fairclough 1995a:59

constitutive effects of discourse. These are parts of what Fairclough sees as the preconstituted reality.

I will argue that the differences between Foucault and Fairclough are not necessarily as great as they seem. A possible compromise concerning materiality can be the view that material objects are shaped by discourse in that they cannot be understood outside discourse. They both agree that an important element of physical reality, especially for the social sciences, is the meaning it is given in discourse. A possible compromise concerning social practice can be the view that social practice is constituted by and therefore embedded in established or “old” discourses. Fairclough after all uses the term “preconstituted reality” which means that it must have been constituted once. The question of social practice is more important than the one of materiality in this thesis. Social practice is embedded in discourses, which support Foucault’s claims, and at the same time a restricting factor for innovative framing, which supports Fairclough’s claims. In this way his critique of Foucault must be modified.

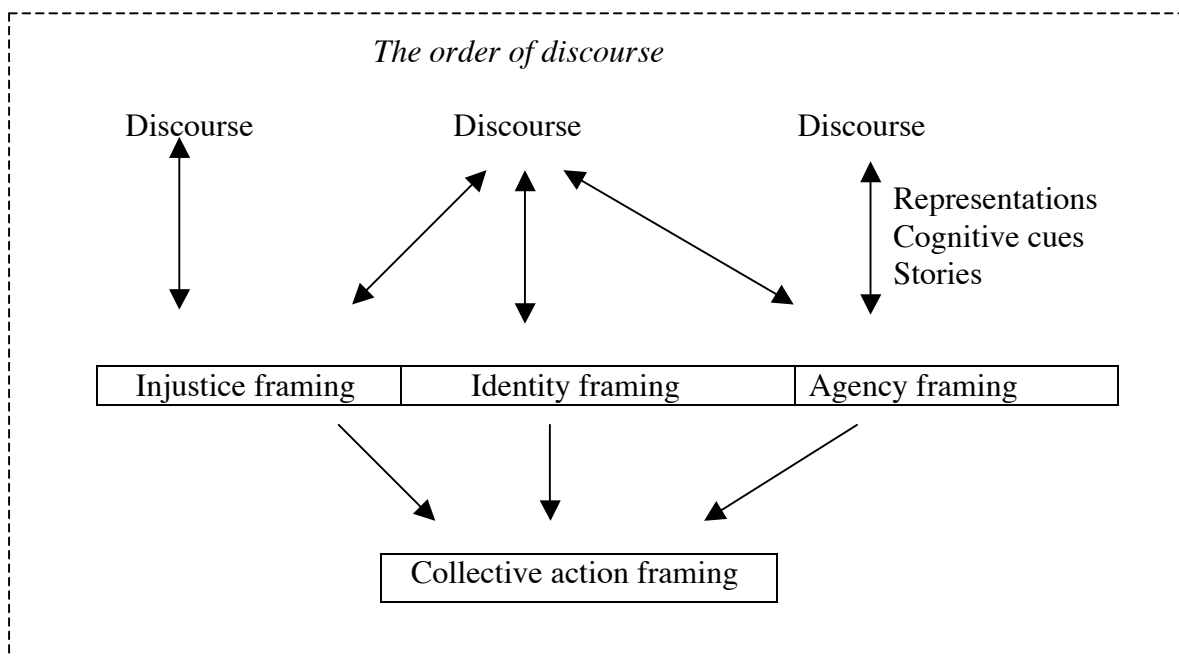
Some of the difference can be explained by the different view on discourse. For Fairclough discourses are more closely connected to the use of language as in linguistic and therefore associated with the present, for Foucault, on the other hand, it is an all-encompassing structure of behaviour, thinking, language and even material reality formed by history. Social practice influences the social by its resistance to present-time discursively change, and it is thereby an interesting object of study. In other words, Foucault’s concept of discourse includes the social practice that Fairclough calls for. When Foucault studies psychiatry, science, the prison, or sexuality, these are all practices, which he analyses as part of discourses. The disagreement between the two is on the constituting force of discourse versus the already constituted “reality”. We can either use one of Fairclough’s dialectics, in which discursive practice interacts with a preconstituted reality, or we can use Foucault’s broad understanding of a historically formed discourse including practice. What we must keep in mind when using Fairclough’s theories is that social practice also has been constituted once, and that it is contingent. A possible agreement between the two is that material reality and social practice exist and influence the perception of statements, but that they too are constituted by, and get their meaning in discourse.

In the social sciences, the object of study is necessarily shaped by discourses. Since we, as opposed to natural science, are less interested in the physical reality the discussion on the relation between materiality and discourse is less important. The phenomenon we study usually have, in one way or another, a discursive existence that influences and is inseparable from the phenomenon itself, and this makes discourse analyses important. The focus on language in discourse analysis and framing theory can be explained by the fact that the traditions rest on the argument that we act based on the processes of attaching meaning to events. The most important tool in these processes is language, and consequently it will play a crucial part in explanations of human behaviour and social phenomena. In short this is the philosophical background for the focus on framing in social movement theory and language in discourse analysis. If the world is framed in a particular way, it will lead to particular human actions and social phenomena, and consequently framing and discourses become crucial concepts when studying the social.

The interdependence of agency and structure

This last section, will present the framework for the empirical analysis through a model.

Model 3: Framing efforts in a discursive order.



As we can see, the most substantial change from model 2 is that a structural element is included. This is based on the argument that framing necessarily must take place in a discursive order. The concept is originally taken from Foucault¹⁰¹ by Fairclough, and refers to the ordered set of discursive practices associated with a particular social domain or institution.¹⁰² The orders of discourse are an analytical construct representing the totality of different discourse types in a domain. Fairclough has different discourse types such as activity type, style, mode and voice, but the ones that will be important here are genre and of course discourse. A genre is a “way of using language which corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in”, examples of which can be an interview genre or a newspaper genre.¹⁰³ The link to discourse is that some genres draw on particular discourses.

Discourse is in Foucault’s words “made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined”.¹⁰⁴ It functions as a way of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice so that we can attach meaning to events and experiences. Fairclough’s view on discourse is quite similar, even if his understanding is more language-based. He writes: “discourse is a particular way of constructing a particular (domain of) social practice”.¹⁰⁵ Discourses should be regarded as practices that systematically forms the phenomenon of which they speak,¹⁰⁶ and define the only “possible position of speaking subjects”.¹⁰⁷ The latter illustrates the point made several times now that it is impossible to construct statements outside the existing discourses. One way or another, all production of knowledge must relate to the order of discourse. Still this does not mean that new knowledge and creativity is impossible. One way of being creative is to use discourses from one social domain and apply them to another one, or by framing change the underlying structures of the existing discourse, or even create a totally new discourse. The point is that to make a new discourse one will have to draw on the already existing once. This is what Foucault sees when he states that all statements bear a regularity

¹⁰¹ Foucault 1978

¹⁰² Fairclough 1995b:12; 1995a:55-56

¹⁰³ Fairclough 1995a:76

¹⁰⁴ Foucault 1972a:117

¹⁰⁵ Fairclough 1995a:117

¹⁰⁶ Foucault 1972a:49

¹⁰⁷ Foucault 1972a:122

that it cannot be dissociated from.¹⁰⁸ Discourse analysis is to search for these regularities, and analyse how they influence the social field where they are active.

As already discussed, model 3 introduces both an order of discourse and particular discourses. The discursive event, in this case framing efforts in texts, draws upon and works upon the order of discourse.¹⁰⁹ It is part repetition and part creation, and creativity must take place in a discursive order and be based on discourses in society. It restricts and enables framing processes in being the repertoire of interpretations. The dotted line illustrates that the limits of the discursive order are fluid. They can differ based on the object of the analysis, even though the delimitations we do, must be based upon the delimitations made by the actors in the field.

So far discourses have mostly been referred to in the production of texts or discursive events, but it is important now, and it will be important in the analysis that discourses also plays a vital role in the perception of texts. The actors framing might try to mobilise other discourses than the ones the recipients draw upon in understanding the text. In this way, what we can call the “order of discourse of the recipient” also becomes important, the reception of framing efforts will depend on the dominating discourses in society, because it is more likely that these will be used to understand the discursive event.

Another difference between model 3 and the framing theory approach is that cognitive cues, stories and representations are mediators to discourses. They get their force and importance from the discourses they indicate. We understand them against the background of systems of meaning, and that is why they have such a profound effect. In themselves they do not contain any meaning, which is why model 3 places them as mediators of discourses, not as in model 2 as autonomous entities. They get their meaning-bearing function from their position in a discourse. Another point that must be mentioned is how framing also constructs stories, representations and cognitive cues that become a part of the discourses later.

The last specific comment to model 3 is that frames are exchanged with framing. Framing theory has been criticised for having a too stable view on the existence of frames,¹¹⁰ and it is essential to emphasise that frames are fluid constructions that not only

¹⁰⁸ Foucault 1972a:144

¹⁰⁹ Fairclough 1995b:10-11

¹¹⁰ Steinberg 1999; 1998:854

changes from individual to individual, but also from situation to situation. Therefore framing illustrates these processes better than frame, and framing efforts are also the objects of study when we look at discursive events. If we wanted to study stable frames one would have had to do studies looking for regularities in people's receptions.

An interesting parallel to the argument illustrated in model 3 is the insights in sociological theories that structure both enable and restrict action. Giddens's theory of structuration and Bourdieu's general project are important examples of the argument that model 3 present a discursive version of.¹¹¹ The main point is that action (framing) is impossible without some system of signs that posses meaning, action must give meaning both to the actor and to the recipients, which is how structure enables action. At the same time these systems of meaning limit what can be said and done in a field because action must relate to the already existing structure, and in this way it restricts action.

Towards the end of this chapter one more issue must be raised that has been neglected so far. As many of the theorists applied have emphasised discursive events or statements must be understood from a position between Bakhtin's heteroglossia and Gramsci's hegemony.¹¹² By transferring Bakhtin, the father of intertextuality, to the social sciences we can say that culture in the same way as a text, is polyphonic.¹¹³ It can be interpreted in different ways and many voices can be heard. Still, it is important to realise that power is involved in framing and interpretation activity, actors have unequal positions and resources, which is where theories of hegemony complement Bakhtin. In model 3 the order of discourse represent the hegemonic or power element, while framing represents the agency involved.

Concluding remarks

Summarised we end up with a conceptual framework that includes agency (framing) and structure (order of discourse), and with a link between the two (cognitive cues, stories and representations). In empirical studies we can use the framework by identifying cognitive cues, stories and representations, reveal which mobilising functions they have and also

¹¹¹ Bourdieu 1990

¹¹² Fairclough 1995b:14

¹¹³ Neumann 2000:304

which discourses they are embedded in. The influence of agency is evident in actors choosing representations and cues on account of their mobilising effects, while the influence of structures is seen in the way discourses determine our speech acts. This is illustrated in model 3. My approach places itself between the voluntaristic rational choice theory implicit in framing theory, and the language determinism and reductionism, found in much discourse analysis. In the case of ATTAC Norway, we can see a particular interrelatedness of framing theory and discourse analysis, in that some cognitive cues, stories and representations mobilising functions are a due to their embedding in particular discourses with a position in an order of discourse.

In the argument in model 3, discursive events are within certain limits polyphonic, making agency and change possible, but at the same time there are restrictions to framing and interpretation in culture, which explains the relative stability of systems of meaning. This dialectic explains why we can operate with stable concepts such as discourses and order of discourses, and at the same time realise that they are volatile, and that different interpretations are possible.

Finally, and paradoxically, we have to realise that social science is one of the voices that speaks, and that discursive events from this field will, as all other speech acts, influence the structure that people must relate to. Academic discourse does not exist outside discourse, and the theories developed in this field will influence the repertoire of action and interpretation for people in other fields, restricting and enabling actions. This will be important in chapter 5, where social science literature will be used as the empirical basis for identifying discourses.

3. METHODOLOGY

Framing theory and discourse analysis can be seen as both theory and method, and the major arguments for the method applied in this project were discussed in the previous chapter. In short, I use social constructivist theories because of the lack of great “realist” changes and the presence of discursive changes in Norway, in the initial period. In addition I emphasise the transnational collective action framing because ATTAC had success in several countries with diverging political opportunity- and mobilising structure. The emphasis on language and the exclusion of non-discursive practices comes from the importance of this system of signs, in the field of social movements. Collective action will usually be legitimated and motivated discursively, hence when studying mobilisation, the interpretative work of organisations becomes crucial. The choice to study written language use instead of oral will be discussed later in this chapter.

The analysis in chapter 4 is a text analysis of books, documents and newspaper articles to find the collective action framing used by ATTAC Norway. In chapter 5, the analysis is a study of social scientific literature to gain an understanding of the discourses the representations, cognitive cues and stories originated in. This chapter will also mention some determinants of organisational success taken from theory of organisation. In chapter 6, I combine the two methods, and do a short text analysis of the counterframing efforts of the opponents of ATTAC, before turning to the structural limitations.

Cultural competence is important when doing studies of language.¹ Except for the material mentioned here, the analysis is also based upon cultural knowledge to the field of social movements in Norway, and more specifically to the situation revolving around the initiation of ATTAC in Norway. The knowledge of ATTAC in Norway comes from readings of all articles involving the organisation in the main Norwegian newspapers in 2001,² readings of other documents (pamphlets etc.) presented by the organisation, observation of web discussions on www.dagbladet.no, and a number of informal discussion about the organisation with members, potential members and opponents. Even though this

¹ Neumann 2001a:50-55

² Aftenposten, Bergens Tidende, Dagsavisen, Dagbladet, Dagens Næringsliv and Verdens Gang.

material is not referred to in the analysis it played a decisive role in the development of arguments. Still, I choose only to refer to a limited selection of the most important texts, to make it easier for fellow students to trace the sources.

I also had two formalised discussions about my conclusions with Sten Inge Jørgensen and Knut Kjelstadlie. Kjelstadlie is a professor of history and a member of ATTAC's scientific council, and Jørgensen played an important role in the initiation process. I chose to speak with them for three reasons. They both know the organisation from the inside, they have the theoretical background necessary to understand and evaluate my approach and my conclusions, and they represent different fractions in the organisation. Finally, I have compared my study to Monica Sydgård Berntsen's anthropological study from the same period, and also had discussions with her about my conclusions.³ I will return to this later. In the following, the material in the analysis will be presented, before describing the presuppositions of interdiscursivity, and discussing methodological problems and transferability.

3.1 Data

The analysis in chapter 4 is a text analysis of: the major documents ATTAC Norway adopted at the initiating meeting, the two books in Norwegian written on the organisation, and a selection of news articles. The material is chosen to identify the consistent, consensual and socially communicated collective action framing mobilising participants in the case of ATTAC Norway. Because of the attention in the media in the initiating period, many of the studies done on the organisation so far have emphasised media texts.⁴ In my analysis, the emphasis is on the organisation's own texts for two reasons. First, a set of beliefs is more helpful than single statements and opinions for collective action. Collective action framing is the effort of constructing such a set of beliefs, and this is easier in extensive texts where the actors are in control of the text production, than in fragmented media texts written by journalists. Second, the segments of the population the organisation appealed to, had the cultural resources to go beyond the presentation in media when

³ Berntsen 2002

⁴ In Norway: Landmark 2001, in Sweden: Heimerson 2001; Samuelsson 2001; Åkerström and Hellström 2001, in Denmark: B. M. Christensen 2002

deciding whether to join the organisation or not. Texts from newspapers are still seen as the trigger for the interest in the books and documents, and hence included to get the full picture of the self-presentation. The reason for selecting the most well-known books, documents and newspaper articles is that the texts should represent the socially communicated part of ATTAC's framing. These are the texts having the most profound effects on the potential supporters, and therefore the ones most interesting in understanding the success of the organisation.⁵

In chapter 5, I use social scientific studies and search for the discourses the collective action framing is embedded in. Some of these studies have a discursive focus, but because empirical discourse analyses are poorly developed, most studies have been adjusted to suit my purpose. In chapter 6, when discussing the limitations to ATTAC, texts from newspapers are the only material analysed when describing the counterframing. I use these texts only to exemplify specific statements the organisation had to respond to. As argued, if the purpose were to identify the collective action framing in for example the organisation MotAttac,⁶ a broader material would have had to be included. In discussing the structural limitations, I use theoretical studies in the same way as in chapter 5. The next section will present and discuss the selection of texts used in the text analysis in chapter 4. This analysis can in many ways be seen as the basis for analyses in chapter 5 and 6.

The books

The two books used in the analysis are Jørgensen's *ATTAC og Globaliseringen* and Clinell's *ATTAC – Grasrotas opprør mot markedet*.⁷ Sten Inge Jørgensen is a journalist in *Morgenbladet* who has been writing on globalisation, international trade and the debt of countries with weak economies. He has also been concerned with the formation of the organisation, first in France and then later in Norway. Jørgensen was one of the initiators and has been an advocate of the organisation, even though he is not a member today. It is in the context of being a supporter that his contribution will be analysed. The book presents

⁵ Neumann 2001a:53. If texts are found that oppose the analysis in this thesis, they will not challenge the conclusions unless they have been communicated and had a broad reception in the social field.

⁶ "CounterAttac", an organisation formed to oppose ATTAC. The idea came from Sweden, but it diffused to the other Scandinavian countries.

⁷ In English: "ATTAC and the globalisation" (Jørgensen 2001) and "ATTAC – the grassroots' revolt against the market" (Clinell 2001).

ATTAC and other civil society organisation's (CSO) own view of the world, and the author states that this is intended.⁸ The effort to make it representative makes the book especially suited for an analysis of the organisation's framing. Jørgensen is himself an actor in the field of social movements in Norway, and can be said to represent a particular fraction in the organisation. This is people that are concerned about international injustices, EU protagonists and reject the left-right dichotomy in politics. *Morgenbladet* often expresses these views. *ATTAC og Globaliseringen* is not only used for the analysis of ATTAC's collective action framing, but also as a source when describing the initial period of the branch in Norway. The book came in 2000 copies and was by March 2001 out of print.

Bim Clinell is a Swedish journalist who has worked as a correspondent in France for ten years. She has close links to *Le Monde diplomatique*, the newspaper initiating the organisation in France. Her book is shorter and less analytic than Jørgensen's, and it also focuses more on the political situation in France. The author supports ATTAC, and the book presents the world in a way favourable to the organisation. Clinell can be said to represent the view of the more traditional leftist fraction in the organisation, an impression strengthened by the foreword being written by Berge Furre, a former leader and MP for the socialist party (SV). The foreword is also included in my analysis. Kjelstadlie is a part of this fraction in the organisation. In Norway the newspaper *Klassekampen* was the main arena for the leftist views in the discussions on ATTAC. However, in the analysis the similarities between the authors and fractions will be emphasised, and the differences not discussed until chapter 6. Clinell's *ATTAC – Grasrotas opprør mot markedet* is included both because it was the first book about ATTAC on the Norwegian market and read by many, and because using some more international texts makes it easier to transfer the analysis to other countries.

Methodologically, the disadvantage with the books is that the authors can shape the organisations' framing in a way that suits their personal views. The advantage is that they present a consistent image of the organisation's collective action framing, because the authors have enough space to present the full belief system. Consistent framing is crucial in constructing collective action frames, because motivation has to be strong for potential supporters to engage in collective action.

⁸ Jørgensen 2001:15,29

The documents

The main document in the analysis is the *International Platform* (IP) adopted at the first international meeting of ATTAC in Paris December 1998. The IP is the basis for the *Politisk plattform for ATTAC Norge* (PP),⁹ approved at the initial meeting of ATTAC Norway in May 2001, and it will be used as a main point of reference in the analysis. I refer to the *International Platform* because it makes the translation part easier, and because it is my opinion that many of my insights, especially in chapter 4 on the collective action framing, may be transferred to ATTAC in other countries, especially Sweden and Denmark.

In general the IP and the PP differ in that the Norwegian version has two additions. The first addition, part 2, is the support to the documents *Another World is Possible* (AWP), *Porto Alegre call for Mobilisation* (PACM), and *Paving the way to a New World* ((PWW), decisive documents in the development of the international part of the organisation. These texts are compromise resolutions from large meetings of a multitude of organisations and movements from different countries. They came in the period after the *International Platform*. They are included in the text analysis based on the importance they are given by being placed in the Norwegian PP. The second addition, part 3, includes some specified issues ATTAC in Norway should work on in the initial period. There are also some small differences and additions in the main part (part 1) between the IP and the PP, and these will be mentioned when it is relevant for the analysis.

While the books provided the analysis with a mix of international, French and Norwegian ATTAC collective action framing, the documents mainly represents the international part of the organisation, because they are formulated in international forums. Compared to the framing in Norway, the similarities are more striking than the differences, and the framing can easily be seen as transnational. There will of course be differences, and transnational representations will be shaped locally, but since it was important for the members to be a part of an international movement the differences were minor. In chapter

⁹ In English: Political Platform for ATTAC in Norway. This document is probably the closest we get to a monument in the Norwegian discourse on ATTAC. A monument is a text distinguished by having the discourse being deeply rooted into it, or as being the place where the discourse meet ("knute- eller forankringspunkter for diskursen"), (Andersen 1994 in Neumann 2001a:52).

6, when I study the limitations to the organisation's framing, it will be easier to see the influence of the more particular national discourses.

Methodologically, the disadvantage with the documents is that they are little used in the everyday-life of the organisation. The advantage is that they represent the agreed-upon collective action framing in the organisation. Being the result of negotiations and disputes, the texts will in most cases be highly representative of the opinions and ideas present in the organisation.

The newspaper articles

The articles referred to in the analysis is a selection of 14 illustrative texts taken from some of the main newspapers in Norway, as well as Ramonet's seminal leader in *Le Monde diplomatique*.¹⁰ I have left out *Morgenbladet* and *Klassekampen*, and focused on the mainstream newspapers. In this analysis the texts mainly represent the framing that was more particular to the Norwegian political context. There are many different types of texts under this broad heading. First some are news articles, thereby representing the newspaper's official line, and here I have excluded the name of the journalist in the list of references. Second, there are some articles that comment upon the news, and here the name of the journalist is included. Finally there are the pieces by outsiders, which is indicated in the list of references with a "contribution by". The selection of articles is done on the basis of readings of all the coverage of ATTAC in most of the main newspapers in Norway in 2001, and they cover most of the themes that were important in this context. They were selected first, and then later analysed more in depth.

The methodological disadvantage with the newspaper articles are that the collective action framing may become less consistent and in many cases too short to autonomously construct the "set of beliefs" that triggers collective action. The advantages with the newspaper texts are that they are the most socially communicated of the texts in the analysis. These are the texts most read by the people, and in a framing and discourse analysis this is a crucial criterion for selecting a text.

¹⁰ *Le Monde diplomatique*, December issue 1997

By combining books, documents and newspaper articles, and avoiding the disadvantages with only studying one of them, my analysis will identify the consistent, consensual, and socially communicated collective action framing at work in the case of ATTAC Norway. These are easier to capture in texts we know have been read by the participants, than in random interviews. With data from interviews it would be problematic to know if the framing identified was consensual and communicated. As we have seen, this is important when studying collective action framing and discourses. This has been the main reason for not interviewing more systematically in the analysis. However, the choice has lead to a methodological problem, discussed in the next section.

Finally, the search for cognitive cues, representations and stories, is emphasised at the sacrifice of specifics in the biographical and “realist” contextual setting. Still there will at some points be discussed persons and context when it seems relevant. The main argument for leaving out the specifics of the text production, is that the purpose of the thesis is to reach beyond the texts to get an understanding of larger social phenomena.

3.2 Interdiscursivity, problems and transferability

Interdiscursivity

The method in the text analysis, especially in chapter 5 and the structural part of chapter 6, is based upon a presupposition of interdiscursivity inspired by Fairclough.¹¹ The concept “highlights the normal heterogeneity of texts in being constituted by combinations of diverse genres and discourses. The concept of interdiscursivity is modelled upon and closely related to intertextuality (...), and like intertextuality it highlights a historical view of texts as transforming the past – existing conventions, or prior texts – into the present”.¹² The method used in this project will be interdiscursive in that it aims at identifying the different discourses present in ATTAC’s texts. By investigating how texts draw upon different existing discourses we get a better understanding of how texts are produced and understood. The emphasis will be on discourses rather than genres, and it will be discussed how these discourses have characteristics that must be taken into consideration when

¹¹ Fairclough 1992:124-130

¹² Fairclough 1995c:134

understanding the diffusion of the organisation. This analysis is not a traditional genealogical discourse analysis searching for the origin and history of concepts, and using this insight to understand the interpretative work they do. Instead the analysis tries to reveal how contemporary statements relate to contemporary discourses, by identifying the discourses that the statements are embedded in. Interdiscursivity is an important aspect of all texts, and it is particularly evident in innovative framing and ATTAC's texts.

Interdiscursivity also raises the question of the delimitation of discourses. Delimiting discourses, and deciding which representations to include is not only an analytical question, it must also have some references to the delimitations done by the actors in the field.¹³ In my analysis in chapter 5, the delimitation of discourses and the choice of representations to include in the discourse, are based on social scientific studies. I assume that these both reflect and influence the perception of the world in the field of social movements.

Methodological problems

Instead of discussing general methodological problems involved in social constructivist studies, I will emphasise a particular problem in this case. It concerns the relation between written and oral use of language in the organisation. The aim of the text analysis in this study is to understand more than just the texts. It is assumed that the books, documents and articles in one way or another reflects the language of the people in the organisation, and that this language influences action. If it is not the case, many of the arguments presented will be problematic. Based on my material it was hard to know if there were any differences between the written texts and the oral speech in the organisation. I felt I knew the organisation well enough, but it was hard to be sure. This presented a problem for me throughout the period of analysing the texts. In January 2003 this problem became smaller when comparing my study to Berntsen's study of ATTAC Norway, and seeing the similarities in the descriptions of the use of language in the organisation.¹⁴ She has done fieldwork at both central and local levels of the organisation and observed many of the major events it was involved in. In this way she gained access to the internal language that

¹³ Neumann 2001a:55-57

¹⁴ Berntsen 2002

might have been excluded from my material. Most descriptions of the collective action framing in chapter 4, which is used as the basis for chapter 5 and 6, find support in her study. The only exception was the self-interest framing, but this will be discussed later. The interviews with Jørgensen and Kjelstadlie, which took place in March 2003, also confirmed the basic findings in the analysis. In this way the conclusions based upon text analysis, found support both in other academic studies and in interviews.

Transferability

It is possible to transfer some of the conclusion from both the theoretical and the empirical part of this study. Theoretically the problems of the lack of a structural level of analysis can also be found in the tradition of rhetoric studies. In this tradition, rhetoric is defined as the art of convincing through strategically use of language, or the way people influence thinking and acting through the strategic use of symbols.¹⁵ In the definition we recognize the emphasis on agency from the framing theory in chapter 2, and illustratively studies of rhetoric was one of the sources of inspirations for studies of framing processes in social movement theory. In this way model 3 can also be applicable or fruitful for studies of rhetoric.

Empirically, I will argue, the arguments, discussions, and conclusions from this study can be interesting when understanding the processes revolving around the initiation of ATTAC in other countries. Because the different national branches of the organisation shared the representations in the collective action framing, the framing analysis in chapter 4 can be relevant in many countries. In chapter 5 it can be argued that most of the discourses applied and the determinants of organisational success mentioned are common for most of the Western world. In this way many of the insights presented here can be applied when studying ATTAC elsewhere, even though arguments and analysis must be adjusted to the national context.

I think the analysis in this project is especially relevant when it comes to the transferability to other Scandinavian countries. The national branches were officially started in January, May, and October 2001, in respectively Sweden, Norway and Denmark,

¹⁵ Karlberg and Mral 1998:10

and the similarities between the countries are striking. I will here mention four of the most important resemblances. First, ATTAC was in all cases initiated by a newspaper, and gained massive attention in the press in the initial period. Second, the organisations had a lot of support from the established political organisation, and it grew fast in the beginning. Third, the organisation used the same representations, cognitive cues and stories in the three different countries,¹⁶ and fourth, the attention in the media disappeared or turned negative. In connection to the latter the organisation was labelled extreme leftist and violent by opponents in all the countries. Because of these similarities, and the fact that the Scandinavian countries are similar in culture and political context, I think the main discussions in this project, and the conclusions drawn can be applicable to Sweden and Denmark as well. Still this is not my decision to make, and I leave it to students of ATTAC that are more familiar with the particularities of the initiation of the organisation in the respective countries.

In the analysis, all italics will be citations from the analysed texts, except for the specific names of books and newspapers. All the necessary translations from Norwegian to English are mine. Since good translations are more important in a study of language than in other forms of study, I hope as little as possible of the original meaning potential has changed. The models will be used in the same way as in the theory chapter, to summarise, simplify and illustrate the arguments.

¹⁶ For Sweden: Heimerson 2001; Samuelson 2001; Åkerström and Hellström 2001; for Denmark: B. M. Christensens 2002; E. Christensen 2002

4. COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMING

The present chapter will use framing theory to suggest an agency level of analysing ATTAC Norway's success. It will also reveal some reasons for including a structural analysis. The structural part will be found in chapter 5.

The organisation has produced statements that have had resonance with the public, and the objective here is to describe the elements in their texts that created this support. The texts can be said to have had mobilising functions, and these are helpful in explaining the emergence of the organisation. The mobilising functions are discussed through applying the concept of collective action framing. A frame is used to cast events in an evaluative mode, and collective action frames are movement-specific sets of beliefs that inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns by being filled with meaning. Framing is the active effort of casting events in an evaluative mode, and collective action framing is the act of producing statements with mobilising effects for social movements.

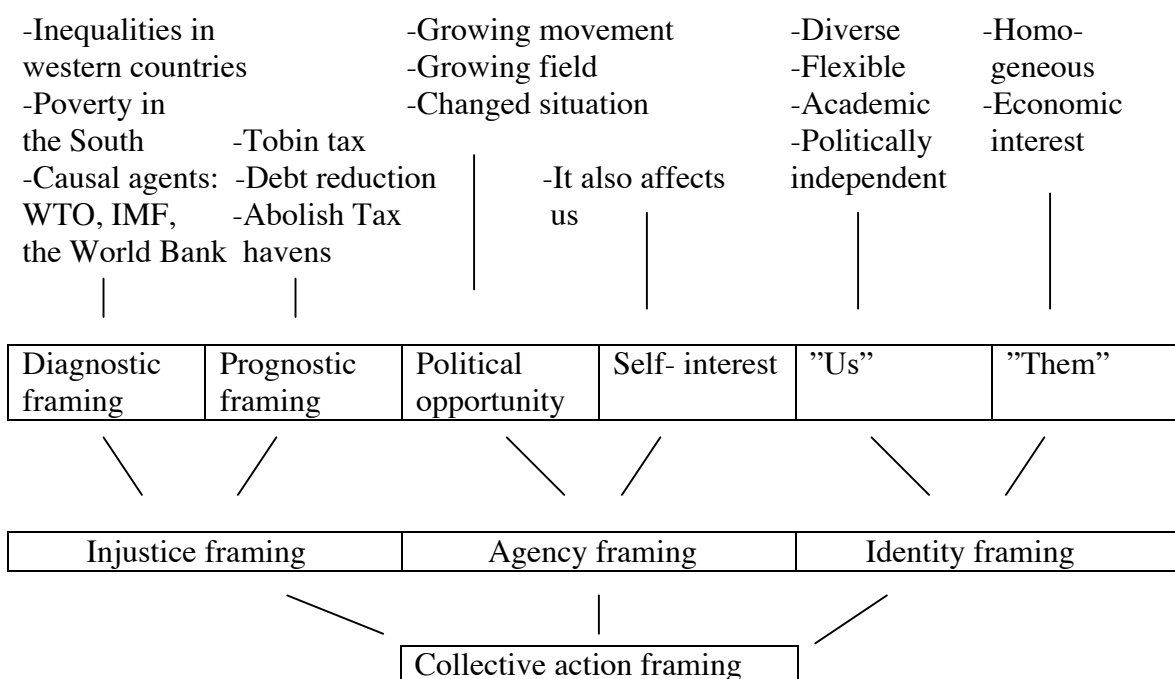
In the framing tradition, movements are seen as actively engaged in the production of these frames, and agency is crucial in that the collective action frames are seen as the product of framing activity.¹ McAdam et al. state that recent effort to equate the concept of frame with any cultural dimension removes the coherency of the concept, and that one should "return to David Snow's original conception and define framing rather narrowly as referring to the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action".² Not only is there in framing theory an underlying assumption that people act strategically and that agency is crucial at the level of reality construction, but these assumptions are also made explicit. It is this agency-based understanding of text production and collective action that will be applied and discussed here, and it serves as a corrective to the structural emphasis in chapter 5. Another part of the distinction between agency and structural explanations applied in this project is that the former tends to focus on particular texts while the latter focuses on broader structures such as discourse and culture.

¹ Snow and Benford 1992:136; Benford and Snow 2000:614

² McAdam et al.1996:6

The different components of the collective action frames presented here are taken from Gamson and include injustice, agency and identity frames.³ Other components could have been included, but as the analysis will show, these were influential factors in this case. The ordering is strictly analytical and the representations and cognitive cues in the statements discussed later can have several mobilising functions. The main point is that social movements present a set of beliefs that together and in different ways motivates and mobilises participants. The injustice frames do so by appealing to the participant's sense of justice, the agency frames by making it clear that action is useful and can be in the self-interest of the members, and the identity frames by introducing a sense of "us" and "them" that helps strengthen the internal solidarity and provides the participants with an enlargement of personal identity. The argument in the case of ATTAC can be illustrated in a model.

Model 4: ATTAC's collective action framing.



³ Gamson 1992a

In short, the argument in this chapter will be that ATTAC uses injustice framing, agency framing and identity framing in mobilising potential members. First with injustice framing they formulate concrete problems which they hold neo-liberal globalisation accountable for, they identify causal agents, and presents concrete means that could help solve the problems. The latter is especially striking compared to former social movement framing in the same field. Second, they use agency framing, overestimating the possibilities for change and including issues that are close to the potential participants. The combination of classic labour issues and international questions are examples of frame extension that can assist mobilisation. Finally, they use identity framing by constructing a favourable collective identity and a negative image of the opponent. In this regard, it is interesting that participants in ATTAC, contrary to former identity framing in the same field, present themselves as political independent, diverse and flexible organised. Combining these insights we may suggest an agency-centred explanation of the organisation's success.

Frames and framing are locally created and shaped, even though movements in other countries and regions often inspire them. Still, this was not as obvious in the framing of ATTAC in Norway. One of the particularities in this case, compared to the majority of social movements and organisations in Norway, and even as opposed to ATTAC in France, was that most of the framing were transnational and did not refer to the specifics in a Norwegian political context. This was probably due to the importance placed in being an international movement. It was important for the participants in ATTAC Norway to be a part of an international organisation and sharing the aims of the international ATTAC.⁴ This impression is strengthened by the fact that they based their organisation on the *International Platform* and the other international documents. The framing was of course shaped by the context, but its transnational character was striking. In the theory chapter, one of the reasons for using social constructivist theories was that ATTAC had success in several countries with different political opportunity structure and different organisational structure. In this way, one can assume that some of the explanations of the success can be found in the transnational representations. In this chapter, the emphasis will be on the more general mobilising functions of this collective action framing. Later in chapter 5 and

⁴ Berntsen 2002:ch.5

especially 6, it will be discussed how the representations and stories, shared by the organisation in different countries, were received in the Norwegian political discourse.

4.1 Injustice Framing

Gamson's injustice component in collective action frames includes both the diagnostic and the prognostic frames of Snow and Benford.⁵ In this thesis, the central concern is the framing and salience of the issue, and it does not involve the movement as such. For participants to devote time to the organisation, the argument is that they must see the issues raised as representing some kind of injustice, and that there must be presented some solutions to these problems. It also helps mobilisation, as Gamson emphasises, if the judgements passed are filled with emotion. In his words if it is a "hot cognition".⁶

Diagnostic framing

Diagnostic framing is maybe the most important, and certainly the one that the organisation devote most space to in their texts, it involve the "identification of a problem and the attribution of blame and causality".⁷ In the case of ATTAC, as with many similar organisations, the problems identified are many. In the seminal *International Platform*, financial globalisation is seen as being the cause of a range of problems.

Financial globalization increases the economic insecurity and social inequalities(...),⁸ (...)undermines popular decision making, democratic institutions and sovereign states responsible for the general interest(...),⁹ (...)encourages the growth of anti-democratic parties(...),¹⁰ (...)increase [the] income on capital at the expense of labor, a pervasive economic insecurity, and the growth of poverty.¹¹ The(...)consequences are(...)even more severe for dependent countries(...) the results include degradation of working conditions, the growth of workplace insecurity and unemployment, and the dismantling of systems of social protection.¹²

⁵ Gamson 1992a and Snow and Benford 1988

⁶ Gamson 1995:90

⁷ Snow and Benford 1988:200

⁸ IP:1. The numbers refers to the line, and the platform with numbering is included as an appendix.

⁹ IP:2

¹⁰ IP:6-7

¹¹ IP:15-16

¹² IP:27-28

As we can see none of these are particular for Norway, even though the emphasis on popular decision-making and the defence of democratic institutions and sovereign states has resemblance to rhetoric of the opponents of Norwegian membership in the European Union. This will be an important discussion later. The citation can also be an example of the interdiscursivity that characterises many of ATTAC's texts.

The representation of problems in this citation can also be found in the other texts in this analysis, where they are more elaborated. Other problems that can be lead back to neo-liberal or financial globalisation include sexism, explosion of migration, armed conflicts and racism.¹³ Frame extension, extending interest and frames beyond the primary interest,¹⁴ can explain why so many problems are presented. The new issues are often seen as being important for potential participants and including them will provide them with an incentive to join the organisation. The more problems identified to be caused by neo-liberal globalisation, the greater the potential for mobilising. In the words of Gerhards and Ruchts: "[the]larger the range of problems covered by a frame, the larger the range of social groups that can be addressed with the frame and the greater the mobilization capacity of the frame".¹⁵ This may be one explanation of the extensive interdiscursivity found in the texts, having several representations of problems taken from different discourses helps mobilisation as long as they are not seen as opposing each other.

In general, the two most frequently representations of problems in the diagnostic framing are first, growing inequalities in western countries with economical and social insecurity for the majority of people,¹⁶ and second, growth of poverty in dependent countries and increasing inequalities between countries in the North and the South.¹⁷ Other main issues are loss of democratic control,¹⁸ food security, and environmental problems.¹⁹

Neo-liberal globalisation is blamed for the problems described. Specificity in the target and motivated human actor does not only assist mobilisation, but are also necessary

¹³ PWW:1; PACM:1

¹⁴ Snow et al. 1986:472-3

¹⁵ Gerhards and Ruchts 1992:580

¹⁶ IP; Clinell 2001:44,61,91,98; GAS:3; Goffeng and Laudal in Dagens Næringsliv 23.08

¹⁷ IP; Jørgensen 2001:10,135-36; Clinell 2001:81-89; PWW:4-5; AWP:2; Goffeng and Laudal in Dagens Næringsliv 23.08

¹⁸ e.g. IP and Jørgensen 2001:113

¹⁹ e.g. IP; Clinell 2001:36-37; PWW:3

conditions for injustice framing.²⁰ It is helpful if there is someone to blame and the unfairness not is seen as a result of bad luck or natural phenomena. An example can be taken from Ramonet's leader in Le Monde diplomatique's 1997 December issue that initiated the organisation:

*Financial globalisation is a law unto itself and it has established a separate supranational state with its own administrative apparatus, its own spheres of influence, its own means of action(...)These four powerful institutions [IMF, the World Bank, WTO and OECD] are unanimous in singing the praises of "market values", a view faithfully echoed by most of the major organs of the media.*²¹

In the all the texts studied, the main causal agents are the International Monetary Union (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organisation (WTO).²² These organisations are often seen as being the driving forces of neo-liberal globalisation, and often presented as a unit with hegemony on knowledge production.

Prognostic framing

Prognostic framing implies "a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem that specifies what needs to be done",²³ and it also involves the identification of strategies, tactics and targets. The solutions tend to be the reversal of the defined problem and causes,²⁴ and one of the framing tasks is to produce consensus.²⁵ ATTAC's prognostic framing presents many solutions to the diagnosed problems. The most famous is definitely the introduction of taxes on financial transactions or the Tobin Tax.²⁶ This tax was initially proposed by the American economist and Nobel Laureate James Tobin in 1972, and has been closely associated with ATTAC. Here explained in the words of Ramonet:

*The idea was to impose a modest tax on all exchange transactions, to stabilize the markets and generate revenue for the international community. At 0,1% the Tobin tax would bring in some \$166 billion a year, twice the annual amount needed to abolish the worst poverty by the end of the century.*²⁷

²⁰ Gamson 1995:91

²¹ Le Monde diplomatique, December issue 1997

²² IP especially in ATTAC Norway's addition; Jørgensen 2001:131-134; Clinell 2001:21; PACM:2; PWW:2; AWP point 4 and 6

²³ Snow and Benford 1988:199

²⁴ Gerhards and Rucht 1992:582; Benford and Snow 2000:616

²⁵ Snow and Benford 1988:199

²⁶ IP 41-43; Jørgensen 2001:120-126; Clinell 2001:22; PWW:6; PACM:1; Drange in dagbladet 05.07; Berge in Dagsavisen 19.05

²⁷ Le Monde diplomatique, December issue 1997

The tax would in other words, both assist avoid financial crises such as the one in Asia in 1997,²⁸ by limiting speculative exchange transactions, and at the same time provide money that could be used to help people in need. The money gained from a Tobin Tax could be used to: *“help struggle against inequalities, to promote education and public health in poor countries, and for food security and sustainable development”*.²⁹

The framing of both the Asia-crises and the Tobin Tax inherit the characteristics of a story, in that they are elaborately and chronologically told events. Those solutions were important in the initiating process of ATTAC Norway, other central solutions include abolition of tax havens, debt reduction for dependent countries, and promotion of transparency in investments in dependant countries.³⁰ These issues were also emphasised in news articles in the media,³¹ and generally they came to be the most well known solutions presented by ATTAC. Still there were other proposals such as preventing the generalisation of pension funds,³² and the establishment of a legal framework for banking and financial transactions,³³ but the first four were soon established as the main goal of the organisation. It was also important for ATTAC to focus on just a few issues at the time, ideological minimalism, which it seems attracted people.³⁴

ATTAC's framing has some resemblance with the master frames that Gerhards and Rucht have described in their study of the organisations partaking in the demonstrations against U.S. President Ronald Reagan's visit in Berlin 1987, and against the yearly meeting of the IMF in Berlin 1988.³⁵ This is particularly evident in the diagnostic framing. The main difference is that Gerhards and Rucht's master frames more clearly reproduce classic leftist theories, and it is argued that this limit their potential for mobilisation. Mobilisation is also limited by the prognostic framing failing to define the means and methods necessary to reach the ends.³⁶ ATTAC's diagnostic framing separates itself from this more common leftist framing in that the proposed solutions are more specified and more clearly defined,

²⁸ Often mentioned in ATTAC's texts, e.g. Jørgensen 2001:51 and Clinell 2001:81-82

²⁹ IP:44-46

³⁰ IP:54-62; Jørgensen 2001:142

³¹ Dagbladet 13.10.; Aftenposten 01.03.; Adresseavisen 18.01.; Verdens Gang 25.02.; Stavanger Aftenblad 27.02.

³² IP:55

³³ IP:57

³⁴ Berge in Dagsavisen 19.05. This is also emphasised in Berntsen analysis (2002:66,69).

³⁵ Gerhards and Rucht 1992

³⁶ Gerhards and Rucht 1992:582-3

which, as already argued, will increase the potential for mobilisation. This may assist explain some of the organisation's success. As we will see later it has also been important for many participants in the organisation to distinguish it from the traditional left, even though some of their arguments originates in these theories. The relation to the established political left has been an issue of frame disputes in the organisation, which will be discussed in chapter 6. Rejecting a close association with the left can also be understood as strategic efforts to increase the mobilisation through including potential participants not sharing the leftist master frames. In a discourse analysis, it could have been emphasised that statements rejecting the traditional left-right dichotomy has got increased popularity in the field of social movements.

So far, the injustice frames may be seen as fairly intellectual statements of problems, means and methods, but for these representations and cognitive cues to have mobilising effects it is helpful and often necessary that they are filled with emotion. The present situation must be felt as an injustice. This mainly concerns the diagnostic framing since this is the one describing the problems. The texts from ATTAC differ in the use of hot cognition, but it is clearly an important element in the overall assessment of their framing. Clinell's book has plenty of examples, such as:

This hunt for numbers [financial speculation] that for the participants must feel like a computer game is real for the millions of people around the world that faced a situation where their opportunities to provide for their children's future and their whole existence fell down as pieces of domino.³⁷

In a couple of years the revenues for the Swedish stockowners has increased dramatically, at the same time one out of four members of the union cannot afford to go on holiday.³⁸

In the first citation we can see the use of metaphors used as a tool to increase the negative feeling towards the people buying and selling exchanges, they are only playing a game, while the victims' suffering are increased by including the suffering of their innocent children. The second citation plays on the direct difference between two groups of people, something that often evokes emotions and engagement. Still, most of the studied statements engage emotions by appealing to generally recognised moral norms. In a social constructivist analysis, this can be seen as structures external to the particular text, and they

³⁷ Clinell 2001:81

³⁸ Clinell 2001:98

can be conceptualised as discourses. For example, when ATTAC presents the representation that 20% of the population uses 80 % of the world's resources,³⁹ or that the inequalities between the richest 20% and the poorest 20% has increased the last 40 years,⁴⁰ it is implicit wrong because of the norm of justice, or a justice discourse. We cannot understand these statements and the emotions they produce without knowing the discourses they are framed in, and this is one reason for including a structural element into framing analysis.

4.2 Agency Framing

The agency component in collective action framing is “ the consciousness that it is possible to alter conditions or policies through collective action”.⁴¹ It includes Snow and Benford's motivational framing and functions as a call to arms or rationale for action.⁴² In this analysis I will divide agency framing into political opportunity framing and framing of self-interest.

Injustice framing will not always be enough to mobilise people. They also need to feel that their actions will be effective in bringing about changes. One common characteristic of such framing is that it overestimates the political opportunities, what Gamson and Meyer call a “rhetoric of change”.⁴³ This was a crucial factor in the case of ATTAC in Norway, and can be illustrated by newspaper headlines such as “*ATTAC attacks Norway*” and statements such as “*the wind is changing*”.⁴⁴ The other part of the agency framing, one that I have included, is statements appealing to the self-interest of the participants. This is added based on the idea that self-interest is a strong argument for participating in an organisation.

³⁹ Furre 2001:9

⁴⁰ Jørgensen 2001:10

⁴¹ Gamson 1995a:90

⁴² Snow and Benford 1988:202

⁴³ Gamson and Meyer 1996:285

⁴⁴ Cassen in Aftenposten 24.02.2001

Framing political opportunity

The literature in this field has focused on some crucial aspects of the political opportunity structure, namely formal institutional structure, informal procedures and responses of authorities, and the alliance and conflict structure.⁴⁵ In this thesis the concept will be used more loosely, and apply to all presuppositions for collective action. I assume that opportunities are subject to interpretation, and that movements in this way are active in structuring and creating political opportunities⁴⁶. Understandings of the world and thereby also understandings of opportunity for action, must be perceived by individuals to have any effect on mobilisation. Negatively formulated: “an opportunity unrecognized is no opportunity at all”.⁴⁷ An illustrative example of this framing can be found in the composition of Jørgensen’s overall argument.⁴⁸

After having described the relevant state and non-state actors in the discussion, his next chapter “*Politics Changing*” introduces four themes that are related to the alleged new political landscape. The different parts are named: “*From cold war to globalisation, The nation state and globalisation, Political reorganisation,[and] New political expression*”.⁴⁹ We recognise the representations of a changed world from the globalisation and new social movement discourses presented in the next chapter, and again we see the need to include a broader structural element.

Summarised, he mentions a lot of changes in the world that all suit ATTAC’s agenda and organisational structure, and in this way the organisation seems to be the answer to all the new challenges. It is also emphasised that the organisation is a growing movement in a growing field. The former argument helps mobilisation in that the representation of a new world order logically supports the formation of new organisations to handle the new challenges, and the latter argument in that the greater the movement and associated movements are the more likely it is that they will achieve power. We can also include here the attraction towards the new in modern discourse and society, as a

⁴⁵ Kjellman 2000:15

⁴⁶ Gamson and Meyer 1996:276

⁴⁷ Gamson and Meyer 1996:283

⁴⁸ Jørgensen 2001

⁴⁹ Jørgensen 2001:5

mobilising factor. Jørgensen starts out writing about the impact of economic, political and cultural globalisation, and about the growing importance of international CSO's, and ends up with describing ATTAC and its aims in a way that is linked to all the assumed changes in international economy and politics. Here are some examples of agency framing in his text. First concerning representations of the changed political climate, and the growth of civil society organisations:

The CSO's has never in history been more important.⁵⁰ (...) the number of CSO's has increased from 176 in 1909 to 28900 in 1993.⁵¹ It is now claimed that CSO's is becoming the third or fourth part in decision making processes, both in national and international institutions.⁵² But now when the CSO's, fronted by ATTAC, attack the financial markets signs of change are emerging.⁵³ The notion "after Seattle" is established in the media and the social sciences and refers to a situation where the supporters of free trade have got an opponent they cannot ignore.⁵⁴

These statements clearly indicate a "rhetoric of change" that will assist mobilisation by making people feel they are a part of something bigger and their actions therefore more effective.⁵⁵ Other representations having agency functions involves the growth of ATTAC itself, a representations that has been very important in their texts,⁵⁶ and also in news articles.⁵⁷ The effects of globalisation and general political changes are also frequently discussed and can have mobilising functions by explaining the need for a new organisation. These statements from Jørgensen are examples of this kind of framing:

There are many arguments for finding new political solutions – in many ways the time has passed for the nation state (...) [organisations such as ATTAC are] maybe the most useful expression of the post-national perspective today.⁵⁸ The nation state, as long as it still exist, will in the future be something totally different from today (...) the traditional party politics is dramatically changing (...) the memberships decreasing to the half from 1980 to 2000.⁵⁹ We [Norway] are one of the world's most globalised countries.⁶⁰

The explicit post-national perspective may be particular for Jørgensen and *Morgenbladet*, but the representation that the world has changed and that political organising must change

⁵⁰ Jørgensen 2001:13

⁵¹ Jørgensen 2001:60

⁵² Jørgensen 2001:63

⁵³ Jørgensen 2001:64

⁵⁴ Jørgensen 2001:33-34

⁵⁵ A view expressed explicit by ATTAC participants, see Berntsen's study (2002:97).

⁵⁶ Clinell 2001:16,19; Jørgensen 2001:143-144

⁵⁷ e. g. Dagbladet 13.10. and Berge in Dagsavisen 19.05.

⁵⁸ Jørgensen 2001:90

⁵⁹ Jørgensen 2001:94

⁶⁰ Jørgensen 2001:22

accordingly is important for ATTAC and legitimates them. Another way to frame political opportunity is to present stories of success that will assist mobilisation by sending the message that influencing international politics is possible. Stories are easy to remember and retell, and play a crucial part in the everyday construction of reality. In the case of ATTAC, the main story of success is the story of the rejection of the OECD initiated MAI agreement after CSO resistance. The story is present in many of the texts discussed here,⁶¹ and has played an important role in stressing that action is meaningful and will bring about changes. Another story of success is the “December movement” concerning the large strikes in France in 1995.⁶² The morale in the story is that there is dissatisfaction with the consequences of neo-liberal globalisation, and that when action is taken massive popular support will be the result. Other stories with the same function are the demonstrations in Seattle,⁶³ the campaign against land mines,⁶⁴ and “Jubilee 2000” the campaign for the cancellation of debt for impoverished countries.⁶⁵

These stories and the political opportunity framing in general illustrate the transnational character of ATTAC’s framing. In Norway non-governmental organisations and social movements have had great impact in politics. Illustrating examples include the influence of the Labour movement and the farmer organisations. Paradoxically ATTAC texts centre around international stories and events, instead of emphasising the local victories closer to the potential supporters. This demonstrates the importance of the transnational identity in the organisation.

Finally, another element in ATTAC’s texts that can be seen as agency framing of political opportunity is the emphasis on science, through for example statements about the establishment of a scientific board of scientists that will analyse the financial market,⁶⁶ or through the general use of scientific vocabulary. The latter is often indicated by the use of cognitive cues such as the word “*globalisation*”. This emphasis on science which also can be seen as a part of the identity framing, may function as agency framing by assuring the

⁶¹ IP 29-33; Clinell 2001:65-71; Jørgensen 2001:13-14, 63; AWP point 2; PWW:2

⁶² Clinell 2001:51-54

⁶³ Clinell 2001:109-111, in Berntsen’s (2002:99) analysis seen as the “myth of origin” most commonly referred to.

⁶⁴ Jørgensen 2001:63

⁶⁵ Jørgensen 2001:63; PWW:2

⁶⁶ Jørgensen 2001:115; Clinell 2001:25-26,

potential members that the means suggested by the organisation actually will lead to the ends agreed upon.

Framing self-interest

Statements that emphasise the self-interest in getting engaged in an organisation will necessarily assist mobilisation. Without accepting certain cynical versions of rational choice theory in studies of collective action,⁶⁷ mobilisation becomes easier the closer the recipients are to the problem. Self-interest is not a necessary condition for mobilisation, and much collective action takes place without it. However, to include elements of self-interest or closeness will increase the probability that people will participate in an organisation. First, by the fact that mobilisation traditionally is easier around local issues where the participants have an interest in the outcome, and second by the logic of frame extension where the increase in issues raised will expand the sentiment pool to mobilise from. As a part of the latter, the probability that people will join an organisation will increase if the frame bridging involves more than one issue, and this may in an agency-centred study explain interdiscursivity.

In this context, the difference between closeness and distance can be seen as reflecting the two major diagnosed representations of problems, namely close problems as insecurity and growing inequalities in the west, and distant problems as injustices in the relation between the countries in the North and the South. The first problem has traditionally had great mobilising capacity through labour unions and labour parties, while the other has historically been less successful. Mixing these two will therefore be a great advantage for the latter, and it may also provide some legitimacy for the former. In the *International Platform* we find statements such as:

...citizens and their representatives find their decision-making power contested⁶⁸ ...at the expanse of labour...⁶⁹ Everywhere social rights are called into question...⁷⁰ ...restore manoeuvring room to citizens...⁷¹

⁶⁷ Olson 1965

⁶⁸ IP:5-6

⁶⁹ IP:15

⁷⁰ IP:23

⁷¹ IP:46

These statements, in addition to the diagnosed problems of degradation of working conditions, unemployment and decrease in social protection,⁷² provide the potential participants with a self-centred reason to oppose neo-liberal globalisation. Of the texts analysed in this thesis Clinell's book is the one that emphasises the close problems, while Jørgensen for example emphasises the problems for dependent countries. Still, there are elements of self-interest framing in all the texts. Clinell mentions the fear of ending up in the street,⁷³ poisoned food,⁷⁴ and reduction of welfare,⁷⁵ as consequences of, and hence reasons to oppose, financial globalisation. Environmental questions ends up in a position in between because in one way it can be seen as close problems, they influence our lives, and in another way as distant problems in that they are often seen as concerning future generations only.

Compared to the master frames in Gerhards and Rucht's study, we can say that ATTAC Norway's texts also include an element of self-interest and of increasing political opportunity that is lacking in those frames. With regard to self-interest, the Berlin demonstrators have some statements about social and environmental problems,⁷⁶ but they are not as well developed as ATTAC's, and most importantly, they lack the link to the typical labour issues. When it comes to framing of political opportunity, the traditional leftist representations described by Gerhards and Rucht seem to lack a clear framing of the increase of opportunities. In sum, ATTAC's set of representations, without taking other non-textual factors into account, seem more likely to create mobilisation than the ones shared by the organisations in Berlin. This being said, self-interest framing has never been an important part of the organisations statements in Norway, and it is the only of my findings from the text analysis that does not get support from Berntsen's study of the active participants in ATTAC Norway.⁷⁷ This may be related to the type of organisations mobilised. In France, the interest groups, especially labour unions and farmers, played an important part, while these had little influence in Norway. Here, the idealistic and political organisations dominated, which explains why the self-interest framing is downplayed in

⁷² IP:27-28

⁷³ Clinell 2001:44,61

⁷⁴ Clinell 2001:74,77

⁷⁵ Clinell 2001:56

⁷⁶ Gerhard and Rucht 1992:577,579

⁷⁷ Berntsen 2002

their own texts and interpretations compared to in the sources of inspiration. A statement by one of Berntsen's informants is illustrative: "[I] find pension funds to be a strange suggestion in the platform".⁷⁸ Pension funds is a self-interest theme, and hence unfamiliar to many of ATTAC Norway's participants. Most of the self-interest found in this analysis comes from Clinell's study, which is to be expected both because she has the situation in France as her point of departure, and because she is close to the political left.

A possible reason for the difference in mobilisation of organisation can be that France had been through a period of economical problems and rightist government that mobilised grass root labour movements. This mobilisation peaked during the December strikes in 1995,⁷⁹ and when ATTAC appeared they were already active and inspired by the "success". In the same period Norway had economic growth and governments that did not challenge the unions, hence the Norwegian worker felt less threatened than the French. In addition, the great demonstrations such as in Seattle and Prague, were a form of action closer to the French labour movement than to the Norwegian. The latter has in many ways been co-opted by the established political system.

In regard to the self-interest framing, it is interesting to see that it has become more important after the annual meeting of March 2003. Here it was decided to have opposition to the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) as a main issue, and also to co-operate more with the labour union. The fight against privatisation of welfare, education and the public health system basically appeal to the self-interest of potential participants. The growing importance of this framing can be seen as an indication of the political left fraction in ATTAC Norway having more influence, as a consequence of the economic decline starting in 2001, or as a deliberate effort of frame extension.

4.3 Identity framing

The identity component of collective action framing is downplayed in Snow and Benford's contributions. These seminal articles say little about it and they have only recently included identity framing in their discussions.⁸⁰ Here they see identity construction as an inherent

⁷⁸ Berntsen 2002:88

⁷⁹ Helle 2000

⁸⁰ Snow et al. 1986; Snow and Benford 1988; 1992

feature of the framing process and state that collective action framing processes can be the linkage between individual and collective identity.⁸¹ Other writers have focused more on identity and asserted that understanding collective identity is essential to studies of social movements.⁸² This has been especially important in the European tradition of New Social Movement theory. Gamson follows this trend and includes it as one of his collective action frames. In his words participation in social movements “frequently involves enlargement of personal identity for participation and offers fulfilment and realization of the self”.⁸³ In this analysis, the focus on identity will mainly concern the construction of a “we” and a “they”, or an “us” and a “them”, and how this construction can assist mobilisation. Still, it is important to remember that identity formation cannot be reduced to a strategic logic, and that it essentially describes the process where a metaphysical idea of collective actors becomes an actual collective.⁸⁴ Without sharing an understanding of a “we” the collective actors described so far can hardly be seen as autonomous actors at all.

Framing “us”

In the *International Platform* the constructed “we” are identified as “*citizens*”,⁸⁵ By using this liberal cognitive cue they try to avoid being associated with the traditional political left, who would have used “workers” or “comrades”. By interdiscursively mixing the liberal “*citizens*”, with the cue “*labor*”⁸⁶ from socialist rhetoric, they appeal to several segments of the population both ideologically and professionally.⁸⁷

The main point in their “we” framing is that ATTAC represents regular people, and this focus on being the majority can be found many places in their texts.⁸⁸ It is a familiar cognitive cue and representation in text from social movements, and it provides them with legitimacy. Related, Berntsen emphasises in the Norwegian case the need to be “*folkelig*”,

⁸¹ Snow and McAdam 2000; Benford and Snow 2000:631-32

⁸² e.g. Jasper 1997 and Melucci 1989

⁸³ Gamson 1992a:56

⁸⁴ Melucci 1995:43

⁸⁵ IP:5,58

⁸⁶ IP:15

⁸⁷ In the *International Platform* they even use “*consumers*” (IP:68) as the “we”, but this is removed in the Norwegian translation. It is probably taken away because its association with management theory is too clear.

⁸⁸ Jørgensen 2001:12,98,141; Clinell 2001:32,88,100

the concept translates into both “of the people” and “like the people” in English.⁸⁹ Still, as opposed to framing in many other social movements, the “us” framed by ATTAC is more than just a united majority facing the elite. Several statements stress the plurality and diversity of the organisation and the group of supporting organisations involved in the struggle against neo-liberal globalisation.⁹⁰ The first two citations refer to ATTAC and the last to the broader group of organisations.

Grass root activism is combined with scientific expertise and groups in the parliaments that crosses the party lines.⁹¹ [Among the members in ATTAC France were] (...) several labour unions, a farmer movement (...) organisations for homeless and unemployed people, anti-racism groups, independent publishers, “Friends of The Earth”, student organisations, left oriented intellectual journals(...) catholic journals(...) writers(...) feminists(...) journalists and several economists.⁹² We are women and men, farmers, workers, unemployed, professionals, students, blacks and indigenous people, coming from the South and the North(...).⁹³

This emphasis on diversity is intensified by the partaking and close association to the great demonstrations with its famous carnival atmosphere. It can be seen as a variant of frame extension in that including, for example, the unions⁹⁴ and farmers⁹⁵ will expand the segment of the population to mobilise from. It can also be seen as agency framing in that representing many groups increases the chances for gaining influence and power, but the most interesting understanding of the representation of diversity cannot be grasped without including a structural element and analysing influential discourses in society today. While the traditional social movements seemed to emphasise a homogeneous “we”, ATTAC and related organisations seem to value plurality also when it comes to ideas. It can be illustrated in the following citation of Bernhard Cassen, the president of the French ATTAC. Here he lists the two main reasons for the success of the organisation:

First ATTAC responded to a need for room, discussion, a “struggling organisation” [kamporganisasjon] that is diversified, open and not connected to any political party or labour union. Second we link two dimensions that have not been linked before: knowledge and action.⁹⁶

⁸⁹ Berntsen 2002:75-78. I will return to this in chapter 6.

⁹⁰ Also emphasised by Berntsen (2002:68-70) as an important frame among the participants during the emergence of the organisation.

⁹¹ Jørgensen 2001:167

⁹² Clinell 2001:24

⁹³ PACM:1

⁹⁴ Jørgensen 2001:70; Clinell 2001:109

⁹⁵ Clinell 2001:77

⁹⁶ Cassen in Aftenposten 24.02.

In this statement we see both the emphasis on plurality and knowledge. In a strategic analysis, constructing a strong and homogeneous collective identity of the participants in an organisation can be understood based on the idea that it will lead to collective action, by providing a sense of solidarity and shared interest among the members. Unity in opinions can be understood as helping collective action by making it clear that the organisations know what they want. The rationality of emphasising diversity, on the other hand, cannot be understood without having a sense of the importance of this value in late modern discourses. This is also supported by the use of cognitive cues such as “*citizens*” and “*individuals*”⁹⁷ instead of “comrades” or “workers” that signal a focus on individualism. These cognitive cues indicates how the members in the organisation see themselves, and illustrate how they emphasise autonomy, which is embedded in the diversity theme.

The same cues also indicate an effort to avoid the language of the political left. Another example can be found in statements such as: “*We have no freedom as individuals in a world controlled by multi-national corporations*”.⁹⁸ In this citation we see an interdiscursive mixture of traditional liberal focus on individual freedom, and contemporary leftist criticism of international capitalist actors. How the organisation presents itself also reflects how the participants understand their own identity. In short ATTAC emphasis in its self-presentation that it is academic,⁹⁹ and not political or that it crosses traditional party lines.¹⁰⁰ However illustrative of many members in the organisation, Clinell still seems ambiguous and often defends the left.¹⁰¹ Not being political can as already discussed, be seen as frame extension and being scientifically based a proof of seriousness, but to really understand these statements one has to include the discourses they are embedded in. These are a late modern new social movement discourse with the representations of political independence and a modern discourse with its value of truth.

Another characteristic of the self-presentation is the focus on flexibility and network organising,¹⁰² reflected in statements such as:

⁹⁷ Jørgensen 2001:1

⁹⁸ Drange in Dagbladet 13.10.

⁹⁹ Jørgensen 2001:55,115,167; Clinell 2001:29

¹⁰⁰ Jørgensen 2001:117,141,165-66; Clinell 2001:40,100; Drange in Dagbladet 05.07.; Berge in Dagsavisen 19.05.

¹⁰¹ Clinell 2001:101-102

¹⁰² Jørgensen 2001:111,158,166; PWW:7

ATTAC has actually made a point out of being a network, without hierarchical structure or a geographical centre. The local groups basically work autonomously, while the co-operation with other CSO's takes place at demonstrations or projects on an ad-hoc-basis.¹⁰³ These local groups are run by independent activists...The different local groups communicates horizontally with each other by using e-mail, they start their own networks, and they exchange experiences with each other, the scientific council, and the leadership.¹⁰⁴

It is important for ATTAC to state that they are not a hierarchical organisation. They use the cognitive clue “network” repeatedly in their texts, and they claim to represent a new form of organising politically.¹⁰⁵ This new form of organising includes all the elements discussed above, and even more examples and references could have been presented. A further understanding of the importance of this framing is impossible without a structural element, and in this the inclusion of the representation of flexibility is essential. This representation can be found in new social movement discourse, but it is also very influential in society at large. In short, the “us” in the texts are a diversified group of people organised in networks of autonomous local groups. They are activists, independent politically, have strong links to academia, and most important, crucial participants in the great demonstrations against neo-liberal globalisation. The last point is perhaps the most important. All their texts are tightly connected to the demonstrations, making it hard to distinguish between the organisations participating in the demonstration and ATTAC as an autonomous organisation. The emphasis on being part of an international movement also originates in these demonstrations. Illustratively, a majority of the 139 pieces involving the organisation in *Dagbladet* and *Aftenposten* in 2001 are connected to the demonstrations,¹⁰⁶ and they are also a crucial determinant for the general interest that caused the other media texts. The demonstrations have clearly been a phenomenon that people wants to be associated with.¹⁰⁷

Framing “them”

So far, the emphasis has been on the construction of a “we”. However, identity formation also include a “they” that is seen as opposed to the “we”. In the texts studied these are the

¹⁰³ Jørgensen 2001:114

¹⁰⁴ Clinell 2001:32-33

¹⁰⁵ e.g. Jørgensen 2001:158

¹⁰⁶ e. g. *Dagbladet* 13.10.; *Drange* in *Dagbladet* 05.07.; *Aftenposten* 24.02.

¹⁰⁷ Illustrative the fall 2002 Diesel collection had a clear connection to the demonstrations.

opponents of ATTAC's policy. The actual identification of the opponents varies, for example, it may or may not include politicians.¹⁰⁸ Basically "they" are a constellation representing the economic interest of financial actors and big corporations¹⁰⁹ that diffuse their ideas to the media,¹¹⁰ and the major political parties.¹¹¹ As already mentioned, the IMF, the WTO, and the World Bank are fronting these issues, and they are the main targets. Even though the actual opponents vary the tendency to frame them in a particular way is the same. They are described as representing censorship, lack of alternatives and a deterministic logic,¹¹² which is related to Hay and Rosamond's description of the dominant conception of globalisation today being the view that it is an inevitable economic constraint.¹¹³ They are also being seen as homogeneous, speaking with one voice, and thinking the same thoughts.¹¹⁴ Here is one example:

*We are fighting against the hegemony of finance, the destruction of our cultures, the monopolization of knowledge, mass media, and communication, the degradation of nature, and the destruction of the quality of life by multinational corporations and anti-democratic policies.*¹¹⁵

Compared to the "us" framing, the focus on the opponent representing unity and homogeneity is interesting, and clearly indicates the importance of new social movement discourse with a representation of diversity. Stating "we speak with one voice" clearly communicates strength, and one would think that it increased the perception of political opportunities. Still, ATTAC emphasises that "they speak with one voice" while "we speak with many", which in itself is difficult to understand without including a concept of discourses consisting of a set of representations that influence social fields. In the next chapter, the statements will be understood as embedded in a popular late modern representation of diversity, found among other places in new social movement discourse.

¹⁰⁸ Included in for example Jørgensen 2001:167, while excluded in for example IP:8-9; Clinell 2001:48; Drange in Dagbladet 05.07.

¹⁰⁹ IP:3-4; Drange in Dagbladet 05.07.

¹¹⁰ IP 40; Jørgensen 2001:17;

¹¹¹ Jørgensen 2001:17; Clinell 2001:48

¹¹² IP:39

¹¹³ Hay and Rosamond 2001

¹¹⁴ Clinell 2001:21,84, Jørgensen 2001:17,19. This framing is also described in detail by Berntsen (2002;137-139) at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre.

¹¹⁵ PWW:1

In general, framing “them” also involves statements that question the knowledge,¹¹⁶ the morale,¹¹⁷ and the motives of the opponents.¹¹⁸ In this interpretative work metaphors, are used to strengthen the message. One example in the *International Platform* can be the linking of the opponent and their methods to the metaphor “*machine*”¹¹⁹ and “*crusade*”,¹²⁰ which clearly put “them” in an unfavourable light. “*Machine*” signals inevitability and regularity, and “*crusade*” the opponent’s aggression and wish for domination. It is yet another example of the need for including structural elements in studying collective action framing, even though there is not enough space to include a metaphor analysis in this thesis. In short, the concepts of machine can only be understood in the sense ATTAC uses it as a part of an anti-modernisation discourse that has the dichotomy machine-human as one of its basic elements.¹²¹ In the same way crusade must be understood not only on basis of historical knowledge, but most importantly it refers to the symbolic importance the crusade has achieved in a freedom of religion and anti-violence representation.¹²² Applying these metaphors mobilises participants by legitimising the struggle against “them”.

4.4 Agency and understanding of ATTAC’s success

Agency explanations emphasise the active role of the actors or agents in explaining social phenomena. In this chapter the focus is on social movements as creative actors constructing texts to mobilise participants. Agency is important because it is individuals and organisations that produce the written and spoken work constituting discourses, and because it is possible to assume that people are able to pursue strategies in these texts. Whether these strategies are conscious for the actor is a different question.

¹¹⁶ e.g Clinell 2001:67

¹¹⁷ e.g Clinell 2001:30

¹¹⁸ IP:3-4

¹¹⁹ IP:37

¹²⁰ IP:34

¹²¹ A familiar example can be Pink Floyd’s music video “The Wall”, or Chaplin’s “Modern Times”.

¹²² This can be illustrated by the reaction to George Bush use of this metaphor in the statement, “a crusade against terror”.

Agency in the texts

ATTAC Norway gives people incentives to oppose neo-liberal globalisation through presenting a range of problems that can be led back to it. They mobilise people by identifying causal agents and concrete solutions, revealing that action is possible, and framing changes in politics and finance, which stress the importance of acting. The emphasis on CSO's having increased power, and ATTAC being a growing movement increases the perceived effectiveness of collective action, and emphasising issues that are close to the potential participants assists mobilisation by appealing to self-interest. The necessary construction of a collective identity will facilitate mobilisation if this identity is attractive to the participants. This is because the participants can use it in their individual identity construction. At the same time negative descriptions of the opponent will mobilise by legitimising the fight against them and increase the internal solidarity.

Compared to other organisations in the same field ATTAC has been especially successful with certain representations. First, compared to classical left criticism, in Norway found in radical leftist organisations such as for example Sosialistisk Ungdom, Rød Ungdom and Internasjonale Sosialister.¹²³ The concrete diagnostic framing makes it easier to believe in the possibility for change, and related to this the blame is mainly put on identifiable institutions. To see these institutions as the main cause of the problems gives the organisations some understandable targets to attack. Blaming “the system” or “capitalism” or “globalisation” in general may lead to apathy, because it is hard to see how it can be changed. Compared to the typical leftist organisations ATTAC also presented representations, cognitive cues and stories that linked them to the science, thereby providing legitimacy. Second, it can be compared to organisations engaged in North-South issues, in Norway for example SLUG, Changemaker, PRESS and SAIH. ATTAC's combination of North-South representations and classical Labour representations makes the sentiment pool to recruit from larger, and it may even combine several issues that the individual participant is interested in.

ATTAC Norway's agency can be evident in the way they use key stories, metaphors, and cognitive cues, or more generally, representations to create support for the organisation. Their texts can be seen as constructed to mobilise because they have several

¹²³ In English: Socialist Youths (SU), Red Youth (RU) and International Socialists (IS).

collective action framing characteristics in their language use. As an organisation that depends on legitimacy in general, and members in particular to achieve its goals, it is also clear that one of their major aims with producing texts is to get support. By identifying framing strategies, we can assert that it seems as if the organisation is able to pursue strategies in their text production.

When it comes to the theory of action connected to the framing approach, we cannot, on the basis of these data, know whether the strategies are deliberate or not. In other words, we cannot know whether these strategies are consciously created by the organisation. We know that there are ideas and strategies present from the production of media strategies in Landmark's project and internal documents.¹²⁴ A brief analysis of the latter shows that even though the representations that can explain their success is emphasised, and other are constructed to defend the organisation from the difficult issues of violence, there are no clear references to specific strategies of mobilisation, or to the processes involved in the collective action framing discussed here. This may have two explanations: either they are not aware of their strategies, or they are aware of them and try to disguise them. The first can be explained by references to Bourdieu's Heidegger and Wittgenstein inspired theory of action.¹²⁵ Here "unconscious strategies" are possible because "being" absorbs people and automatically makes them follow their own interest. The idea is that we have some kind of practical knowledge that we cannot give an account of. For Bourdieu this knowledge is irreducible to the logic of science, in his own words: "practice has a logic which is not that of the logician".¹²⁶ It is often exemplified by the fact that most people can speak even though they cannot describe the rules of the language they speak. In this way the text producers in ATTAC can know how to create support, even without being able to explain it. The practical knowledge is based upon experience in the particular field and on experience in life in general. On the other hand, it is possible that the participant have a clear understanding of the strategies, but know that framing must be seen as sincere descriptions of the world to work. If this is the case, it would be important to keep them out of even internal documents because you never know where they will end up,

¹²⁴ Landmark 2001:ch.6 and IAN. The latter is an internal ATTAC Norway document.

¹²⁵ Bourdieu 1990:80-97

¹²⁶ Bourdieu 1990:86

for example in a newspaper, and consequently it is safer to keep these ideas in a verbal form.

The truth can probably be found in between the two explanations. The text producers are probably to a certain degree aware of the processes among the recipients, and use this knowledge to create texts that will mobilise people. This probably increased when they started to co-operate with professionals in a PR agency. The tendency indicates a “technologization of discourse”, a form of the reflexivity that is connected to conscious intervention to control and shape language practices in accordance with organisational goals. Fairclough states that this is a distinctive characteristic of the contemporary linguistic and discursive order, and a part of late modern orders of discourse and social life overall.¹²⁷

At the same time, there is probably a lot of practical knowledge on how to create support among both the ordinary participants and the leaders. Many of them have spent years in the field and it is likely that they know some of the codes. Practical knowledge does not need to be more complicated than people having an unconscious idea, based on experience, of what the effects of statements will be. Most people will then adjust their message according to the response. These are common processes that take place both in everyday-life and in field-specific action, and in most cases they are unconscious. Both variants of a rational action theory can be seen as expressions of agency, and they open up for agency analyses and explanations.

Concluding remarks

ATTAC Norway uses injustice, agency and identity framing in mobilising members. The organisation actively uses transnational frames, with great mobilising potential. With the injustice framing they formulate concrete problems, identify causal agents, and presents concrete means that could help solve the problems. With the agency framing, they overestimate the possibilities for change and raise a multitude of issues close to the potential participants. Finally with the identity framing they construct a favourable collective identity and a negative image of the opponent. The organisation combines several popular cognitive cues and representations attracting attention and support. The

¹²⁷ Fairclough 1992; Fairclough and Wodak 1997:260

construction of a plural identity, representations of flexible form of organisation, and representations of political independence are the most important ones. To fully understand these and the mobilisation effect they had one need to include a structural analysis, and this is the purpose of the next chapter.

The order of discourse is local, it can however be argued that a “global order of discourse” is emerging because many discourse characteristics and changes have an international character. In this way transnational collective action framing took place in a global order of discourse. This will be evident in the next chapter, where most of the discourses, representations, and values emphasised, are shared by the western world. National borders do not limit language, and thinking in Norway has always been influenced by the developments especially in Europe and the USA. We can use this insight to understand that ATTAC emerged and had success in several countries with varying political opportunity structure and organisational structure. Still, the global order of discourse must not be exaggerated, and there will always be local differences and interpretations. The particularities of the Norwegian political discourse will be studied closer and become more evident in chapter 6 when discussing limitations to the success.

5. THE ORDER OF DISCOURSE

The present chapter will use discourse analysis to suggest a structural level of analysing the success of ATTAC Norway. This chapter constructs a part of the order of discourse in the social field where the organisation emerged, in order to identify the origins of the organisation's rhetoric. The argument will be that the position in central discursive struggles influences the success of an organisation.

Social fields and an order of discourses are both volatile and contingent analytical constructions, and they need some specification on how they will be used in this thesis. The social field refers to the networks of individuals, institutions and media representatives that take an interest in social movements in Norway, and the discursive order to the set of discourses they carry and are under the influence of. In this study it will be impossible to present a complete list of discourses, and that is not the point either. The elements in the order of discourse here is only one possible construction and the choices has been pragmatically based on the wish to make a coherent structural argument explaining the relative success of the organisation. Other discourses and genres could, and should, have been included if the aim was to present the order of discourse per se. Still the choice is not based on coincidence, and the discourses emphasised are the main ones surrounding ATTAC in Norway and probably also in other countries.

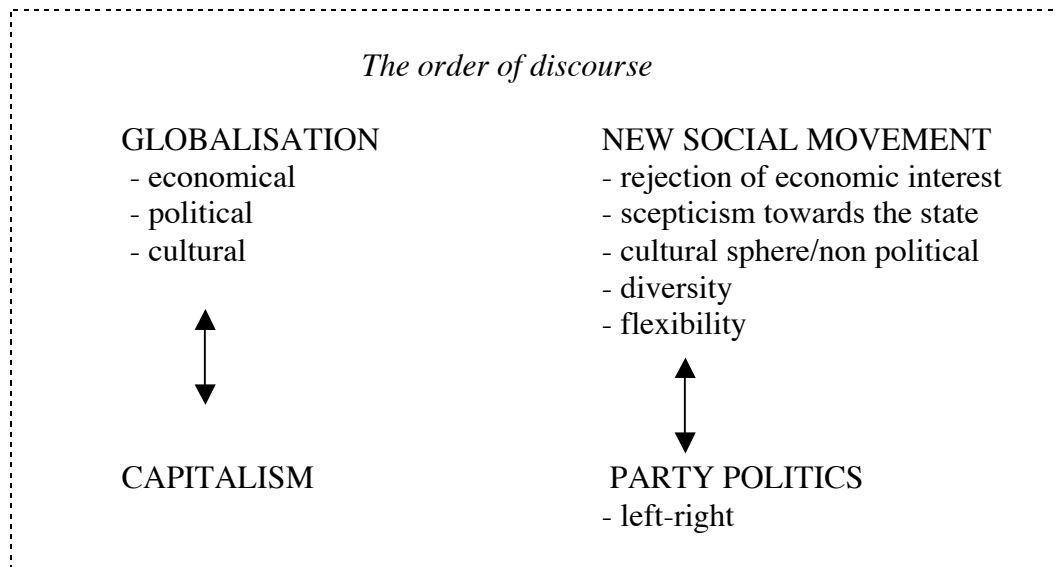
Discourses are systems or structures for producing statements and practises that constitute reality and introduce regularity in social relations, and representations are the most important packages of reality claims that a discourse consists of.¹ The discourses described will differ greatly in their internal organisation. They can be organised around nodal points or dichotomies. Some are relatively closed, which means that they do not contain opposing representations, while others are open. Despite differences, they are all socially constructed systems of meaning that organise experience, reduce contingency, and restrict production of statements. Using discourses to understand social phenomena can be seen as opposing an analysis focusing on action performed by deliberate actors. The analysis in chapter 4 supports the assumption presented here that ATTAC's set of

¹ Neumann 2001a:17,33

representations, stories and cognitive cues are embedded in certain discourses. Framing efforts as the ones described in the agency analysis, must take place in a discursive order, and bringing the concepts framing and order of discourse together will lead to an analysis including both agency and structures.

An important assumption in discourse analysis is that there are struggles between different discourses to define the categories and phenomena that constitute our world,² and model 5 illustrates some discursive struggles in the field of social movements in Norway. The argument presented here explains the success of the organisation, while the elements that restricted this success are left out and will be discussed in chapter 6.

Model 5: Some elements in the order of discourse in the field of social movements in Norway.



In short, ATTAC Norway framed in the discourses of globalisation and new social movements, and this can help explain the attention it received. Through its initial embedding in these discourses, it became associated with the crucial values of novelty and truth, which are important factors for organisational success. These discourses can be seen as competing with the more familiar discourses of capitalism and party politics in representing the world and categorising political actors, and they are all important parts of the order of discourse in the field of social movements in Norway. The discursive break identified in this chapter support the assumption used for applying social constructivist

² Neumann 2001a:21

theories in this case. While the realist changes between “new” and “old” social movements and organisations, and a global and international community are hard to assess, and do not represent a break, the discursive changes do. For globalisation discourse, the break is the departure from the nation state, and for new social movement discourse, the break is the departure from labour organisations as the model of social movements. In this way these changes are crucial for understanding the emergence of ATTAC. The embedding in globalisation and new social movement discourse also made it easier to mobilise, because capitalism and party politics discourse already was institutionalised formally in political organisations and parties.

In the analysis studies of management theories have two functions. First, they have been helpful in identifying factors of organisational success in section 5.1, and second, they are used in 5.2 to show the origin of ATTAC’s framing and illustrate how discourses move between fields. In the following, I will first present the determinants of organisational success applied in this thesis, before turning to the discursive struggles.

5.1 Determinants of organisational success

The celebration of novelty and the all-encompassing focus on science are defining characteristics of modernity. Since we are still under the influence of this period, these values are also crucial determinants for the success of new organisations and social movements. This makes them important in understanding the reception of ATTAC in Norway. Mobilisation potential also play a key role in understanding the success, because it is likely that a new organisation which represents an influential discourse not yet formally institutionalised, will have greater mobilising potential than a new organisation representing institutionalised discourses. In the following, three determinants will be discussed: the value of novelty, the value of truth and mobilisation potential.

The value of novelty

Novelty has in general been perceived as attractive in modern discourses and society, and this represents one of the great changes in modernity. In the traditional society including the renaissance, novelty was equated with triviality and superficiality, while modernity

revealed a fascination with the new that put it on the side of progress.³ One interesting explanation for this can be the ideas of evolution that coincided and maybe became a part of modern thinking. In short, the argument is that the new must be better than the old because it has survived and defeated the old, and consequently it is there for a reason. Darwin's famous theories are the classic illustration, but the idea can also be found in functionalist theories in the social sciences and in common-sense knowledge. There is a tendency to think that if we have a new phenomenon it must be because it fulfils a need. This evolutionary pattern of thinking celebrating the new, may then have moved from its fields of origin, and become a part of modern thinking and discourse in general. The importance of novelty may of course have other roots, such as producing a system of social stratification by distinguishing people with time and resources to be updated,⁴ or merely reflect a fascination of related values such as the unknown and youth.

Today we see the most extreme influence of the value of novelty in fashion and popular music, but it can be found, in one way or the other, in all social fields in society. The best proof of this is that if stating that something is new, it is usually and in the right context, taken for granted that it is good, and if stating that something is novel it is in itself an argument that it should be supported.⁵

Studies of management literature support this argument and there is no reason to believe that the rationale in private organisations in this aspect differ substantially from the one in social movements and organisations.⁶ One example is Abrahamsen and Fairchild's presentation of three themes, in their word discourses, that must be present for a new management fashion (or a new organisation) to be established. These are: 1) People must perceive the present situation as unfulfilling, 2) there must be some solutions available and

³ Kumar 1995:ch.5

⁴ Bourdieu 1995

⁵ Stuart Hall illustratively calls it the "tyranny of the new", which illustrates the determinist tendencies that if something is new it must be supported. In his view this problematic because it leaves no choice to the individuals (Hall 1986:47).

⁶ Edelman, Fuller and Mara-Drita 2001:1620-21; Abrahamsen and Fairchild 1999; Røvik 1998:50. They emphasise the value of novelty in commercial organisations. An indication of the influence of the novelty in the political field, a field overlapping with the field of social movements, is evident in Fairclough's analysis of Tony Blair's rhetoric. Fairclough has counted that the cognitive cue "new" occurs 609 times in 53 speeches, which he argues explain some of Blair's success (Fairclough 2000a:18). The cue is also repeatedly used by ATTAC Norway, but my analysis emphasises how the organisation more generally became associated with the value of novelty through its embedding in new discourses. This may reflect a difference between an analysis emphasising rhetoric and agency, and an analysis including more structural elements.

3) the solution must be presented as something new and successful.⁷ The latter they call the bandwagon discourse, discourse is here used in a linguistic sense. The similarities of the three points to the diagnostic and prognostic collective action frames described by Snow and Benford are obvious, but in this context the most important is that the bandwagon discourse introduces novelty as an autonomous factor, which will be crucial when we later go into detail on the case of ATTAC. An organisation must be seen as new and successful to get support, because people follow trends in the field of social movements in the same way as in other social fields. Røvik sees the same when discussing reasons for specific management theories to diffuse. He emphasise that management theories must defend the ideas of the sovereign individual, have some references to successful organisations and/or people, be associated with symbols of rationality (see the next section), and be perceived as the new or be associated with symbols of the new.⁸ Late modern discourses are examples of such symbols of novelty.

In sum, since the vision of movement towards the better is one of the basic ideas that modern society is build upon,⁹ organisations framing themselves and their ideas as new will have a potential advantage.

The value of truth

If celebration of the new was crucial for modernity, reason can be seen as its central tenet.¹⁰ Foucault mentions three great systems of exclusion governing discourse, of which the most important is the “will to truth”.¹¹ He claims that the other two, prohibited words and the opposition reason and folly, tend towards and are assimilated by the ever-increasing will to truth. This is related to the sciences or systems of discipline of psychiatry, the judicial system and medicine, exposed in his works.¹² The increasing control over individuals by systems of knowledge is basic in Foucault’s view of modernity, and these systems are legitimised by the value of truth. Habermas sees science and technology as the most

⁷ Abrahamsen and Fairchild 1999:727-29

⁸ Røvik 1998:49-50

⁹ Berger, Berger and Kellner 1973 in Røvik 1998:50

¹⁰ Kumar 1995:96

¹¹ Foucault 1972b:216-20

¹² Foucault 1965; 1994; 1978. These systems and the value of truth, is seen by him as a threat to freedom.

important ideology in modern society.¹³ Science is based upon the value of truth, while technology is based on the value of rationality embedded in the value of truth. The connection is that for something to be rational it must also be true. Even though the two mentioned theorists disagree on several basic issues, there are some similarities between Habermas' idea of "colonisation of the lifeworld" and Foucault's emphasis on the normalisation processes. This is the emphasis upon the increasing and somewhat oppressing role played by the discourse of technology and science and the institutions materialising it.

To return to more empirical studies relevant for this analysis, the value of truth and rationalised symbols can be found in the same studies of management literature as referred to in the section on novelty. Edelman, Fuller and Mara-Drita explain the success of the rhetoric of diversity on the combination of novelty and economic rationality.¹⁴ In their case, diversity is framed as something profitable for the organisation, an economic rationality that dominates the field of management literature. The point here is that an organisation must in one way or the other make some claims to truth to get success. Put in another way, diffusion of ideas and organisations depends among other things on their association with rationalised symbols in society.¹⁵

The value of truth can generally be evident in the way of producing statements resembling "facts" and causal relations, or more specific in use of a scientific cues and explicit references to scientific results and authorities. Consequently, organisations will be more successful if they are perceived as possessing some sorts of truth as opposed to being seen as representing opinions and interests, and organisational framing in contemporary society is heavily influenced by the power of the value of truth and of truth-producing institutions.

The mobilisation potential

The last of the three determinants of organisational success discussed here is whether or not the organisation in question represents a discourse that has been institutionalised materially

¹³ Habermas 1987 in Røvik 1998:50

¹⁴ Edelman, Fuller and Mara-Drita 2001

¹⁵ Røvik 1998:49

in organisations. To institutionalise a discourse is according to Neumann to “formalise a set of statements and practices”.¹⁶ In this analysis, the meaning will be more specific and refer to the emergence of formal institutions, in other words, a discourse will be seen as institutionalised when there are organisations and organised movements systematically using it. Examples are the party politics and capitalism discourse institutionalised in political parties and organisations. The way the concept is used here is simple, and the argument is that it will be harder for a new organisation framing in an institutionalised discourse than in a non-institutionalised for two reasons. First of all because there will be fewer competitors, and second, because they will appear as fulfilling a need.

Whether the discourses arrive before or after the organisations will of course vary. An organisation can contribute to the growing importance of a discourse, or established organisations can incorporate new discourses.¹⁷ The relationship between discourses and organisations will be interdependent, but new discourses will meet opposition. The opposition will be both internal because people have invested a lot of time and identity in the old discourse, and external, because of the inertia in the public image of an established organisation. Still, new organisations will have an advantage in representing new discourses, which provide them with greater mobilising potential.

The three determinants of organisational success will be central when describing how the discursive struggles in ATTAC’s order of discourse can help us understand the success of the organisation.

5.2 Struggles over definitions of the world

This part will focus on the discursive struggle over defining the driving forces of contemporary society. The argument is that globalisation discourse challenges capitalism discourse as the main description of the world. These discourses are analytical constructions, which is particularly clear in this case because much of social movement’s statements that concern descriptions of the world and diagnosis of problems is an

¹⁶ Neumann 2001a:177, my translation.

¹⁷ The New Institutionalism in theory of organisations argues that established organisations incorporating new discourses are one of the basic mechanisms for diffusion of organisational patterns. It leads to isomorphism in organisational fields, and decoupled organisation with diverging rhetoric and practice (Meyer and Rowan 1977; 1978; DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Powell and DiMaggio 1991).

interdiscursive mix of traditional leftist capitalism discourse and globalisation discourse. The main analytical purpose of the separation is seen when comparing them to the determinants of success in the former section. In short, globalisation discourse can be seen as representing novelty, truth, and has a greater potential for mobilisation. I will address this argument first by describing the discourse of globalisation, before turning to the discourse of capitalism.

The discourse of globalisation

The cognitive cue globalisation and representations of globalisation has been fashionable in different fields in society during the last decade. A short search on the concept in a base of five Norwegian newspapers is an indication of its lifecycle.¹⁸ Since 1984 there are 1309 articles matching globalisation, and 1132 of these were written after 1997. In other words, there were more or less an explosion in the use of the concept in 1998. This phenomenon was not limited to Norway. In the US the growth also increased dramatically in the 1990's even though it started out earlier.¹⁹ The discourse of globalisation originally came from an academic field where it had been present for some time, and it is an example of the way theories and concepts developed in social sciences, travel to media and politics.²⁰ It originated in an academic discourse and diffused to a political discourse. This illustrates the volatility of the limits of discourses. Discourses can move from one field to another, either by deliberate choices from actors with a stated purpose, or unconscious by being present in the language of people that move in both academic and political circles. Because discourses exist in language, it will be difficult to restrict them to one social field. When moving from one field to another, people will bring with them discourses and use them to understand the world and express themselves, and in this way discourses spread. The diffusion of these discourses will be dependent upon many factors, specialist technical discourses will for example often be more restricted to its field.

The discourse of globalisation is maybe the most open of the discourses emphasised in this chapter. In the conceptual framework described in chapter 2, it can be described as

¹⁸ www.webatekst.aftenposten.no

¹⁹ Fiss and Hirsch 2000:2

²⁰ Robertson and Khondker 1998:26

several representations or positions in discourses that struggle over the meaning of the word globalisation. Nodal points are both privileged signs a discourse is organised around, and at the same time floating signifiers that different representations struggle to impose with their meaning.²¹ “Globalisation” is the central nodal point of the discourse, and the concept organises the great globalisation discourse, in which the economic, political and cultural representations struggle over the meaning. Even though the nodal point is the main organiser of this discourse, one can also identify important dichotomies. The main ones are the dichotomies of national state–globalisation and maybe most important, local–global.²² The logic of globalisation is embedded in these dichotomies, and statements made in the discourse take them for granted. To illustrate this, globalisation can be seen as having three dimensions all linked to the local–global and national state-globalisation dichotomy: 1) a material dimension: flows of trade, capital and people, 2) a spatio-temporal dimension: the removal of the constraints of distance and time through for example electronic communication, and 3) a cognitive dimension: the perception of the world as a smaller place.²³

Texts on globalisation both spoken and written can analytically be separated into an economic, a political and a cultural representation, or package of reality claims. There are strong indicators that the economic is the dominant globalisation discourse today.²⁴ In the US, the concept was introduced in economics, starting out in finance and moving to industry, and from this basis it was only later found in connection with non-economic issues.²⁵ Some key issues are the emergence of a transnational economy, global informational capitalism, and a new global division of labour.²⁶ An important part of this representation is that development is seen as inevitable, or as an external economic constraint.²⁷

Even though the economic representation is the most common, reflecting the status of the economic field in contemporary society, there are also other important globalisation representations that have had some influence. The political, originating in political science,

²¹ Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:39

²² Thørn 1999:79. He describes them as the most central problems of the sociology of globalisation.

²³ Held and McGrew 2000a:3

²⁴ Robertson and Khondker 1998:25, 36; Hirst and Thompson 1999:3

²⁵ Fiss and Hirst 2000:10

²⁶ Held and McGrew 2000a:37

²⁷ Hay and Rosamond 2001:7; Marcussen 2000:4; Flowerdew 2002

centres mainly around issues of the decline of the nation-state, erosion of state sovereignty and the rise of multilateralism. It is argued that the growth of international organisations, both governmental and non-governmental, basically changes the way politics works. The link between territory and political power has been broken, there has been more shared exercise of power between nation-states (e.g. EU), and there has slowly been established a body of international law that underpins the tendencies of global governance.²⁸ Many of these changes and new proposals for change comes from the already mentioned cognitive shift, the way of thinking about the world as a smaller place, and the idea that in order to solve the new policy problems (e.g. pollution), individual states are no longer the appropriate political units. In texts embedded in this representation, emphasis is often put on the international organisations such as EU and the UN, or on particular policy issues where the solution only can be achieved on an international level. Other parts of this representation can be that people's interest are not necessarily connected to the state, a normative view that can be traced back to Marxism, or a descriptive argument that there has been a decline in traditional nationalism and nationalist thinking caused by the increase in cultural exchanges.

The third and last influential representation in the globalisation discourse is the cultural one. The main theme here is the emergence of a global culture that undermines the traditional differences between local cultures.²⁹ A global culture can be seen as operating on several levels such as standardised commodities, denationalised ethnic or folk motifs, generalised human values and interests, and a interdependent system of communication.³⁰ The engine in this process is the media, especially television and pop culture in general, and the catalyst is new electric communication. Another major factor is the increased movement of people through both immigration and increased travelling. It has lead to a fear of the "McDonaldisation" of the world and US-led cultural imperialism.³¹ Typical

²⁸ Held and McGrew 2000a:11

²⁹ This view has been contested by among other Robertson (1992), who introduces the term "glocalisation", and challenging the dichotomy of the local-global by mixing the two concepts. In short this means that global culture is locally consumed, and thereby influenced and understood in the local cultures. Behind this view lies the already mentioned assumption that consuming for example media texts is an active process heavily influenced by the background of the audience. Still such arguments will seldom move beyond the academic field because of the rather technical form they are presented in, so their importance in other fields are limited.

³⁰ Smith 2000:239

³¹ Beck 2000:42

statements in this representation often involve the fact that people all over the world now watch the same TV-programs, listen to the same music and read the same books.

All these three representations, the economical, political and cultural have their opponents, and all the “facts” and descriptions of the world found in globalisation discourse can be contested. Held and McGrew call the opponents the sceptics and the people speaking the globalisation discourses the globalists.³²

When reading realist studies, it is important to remember that outcomes will be influenced by the way issues are framed, irrespective of the veracity of the statement. If one acts on the basis of a representation of globalisation, the outcomes will be consistent with this representation, and in this way it can be a self-fulfilling process.³³ In one way or another the assumptions one act upon are constructed socially, and there are no facts outside language and other systems of signs, or at least no facts that are not mediated and thereby influenced, by these systems. To continue the argument in this analysis, all we need to know is that there is a globalisation discourse, that it is a new discourse at least in the fields of media and politics, and that it has been influential. The fact that there are several positions in the globalisation discourse, several competing representations, and also effective counter-framing reveals the need for including an agency level of analysis.

The two features that make the discourse of globalisation especially complex is first that the sceptics and the globalists cannot be separated along the lines of the traditional political ideologies liberalism and socialism, or left and right. One of the consequences is that it will be difficult to combine categorisations based on the globalisation discourse, with categorisations based on the traditional party politics discourse. Second, the fact that there are different representations incorporated in talk of globalisation often leads to misunderstandings and uncertainty. These two features make clear and understandable messages crucial for organisations framing in this discourse.

³² Held and McGrew 2000a. The discussions between the two groups are complicated and there will not be enough space to go into details here, nor is it necessary for the analysis. For an insight into this discussion and the realist focus one should look into Held and McGrew's (2000b) extensive collection of articles.

³³ Hay and Rosamond 2001:3

ATTAC's framing embedded in globalisation discourse

In Norway the discourse of globalisation and its representations has been prevalent first in the field of academics as in other countries, and second among organisations and individuals advocating Norwegian membership in the EU. The latter can explain some of the particular obstacles ATTAC's framing met in Norway, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter. The globalisation discourse has not been institutionalised in the field of social movements in Norway, except maybe from the organisation Europabevegelsen formed during the referendum on EU in 1994.³⁴ In this way, it can be seen as having a mobilising potential, and ATTAC Norway had the advantage of this potential when they presented statements embedded in this discourse.

ATTAC's framing in the globalisation discourse has been one of opposing economical globalisation and embracing political and cultural globalisation, the latter at least as long as it is not U.S dominated. Neo-liberal, or economic, globalisation has been described as the cause of all problems in the diagnostic framing in chapter 4, and the embedding in the globalisation discourse is particularly evident in this framing. Still, the organisation embraces political and cultural globalisation, the latter is illustrated in this extract:

ATTAC is in favour of globalisation(...)we can separate between cultural globalisation with increased contact between and knowledge of each other, technological globalisation for example the Internet(...), and economical globalisation characterised by globally integrated chains of production and an explosive increase in exchange trade.³⁵

In this way they have a rather complex position in the discourse, which is reflected in the series of discussion on whether ATTAC is an “anti-globalisation organisation” or not. This complexity is increased by the branch in France having been accused of being opposed to both political and cultural globalisation. Still, the main point in my analysis is that ATTAC Norway has used this new discourse in their collective action framing. When describing the world they have used the language of globalisation, instead of for example the language of capitalism, which will be discussed in the next section.

³⁴ In English: The Europe movement, the main organisation advocating Norwegian membership in the EU.

³⁵ Goffeng and Laudal in Dagens Næringsliv 23.08.

The discourse of capitalism

The discourse of capitalism can analytically be seen as opposing globalisation discourse. Capitalism discourse was a part of the industrialisation that developed in the nineteenth-century, and it describes the world as determined by the power of capital. Its origin can be traced back via Marx to classic economic theory. Its time of emergence has to a certain degree linked it to the nation state, but there is no necessary connection, and in contemporary leftist political organisations and social movements we often see a combination of this discourse and the discourse of globalisation. There are two main representations in the discourse of capitalism: the liberal and the socialist. The liberal originates in the theories of Adam Smith and embraces the effects of capitalism, while the socialist originates in the theories of Karl Marx and criticises them. Since these are well known representations and the discourse in general is familiar, I will not spend a lot of time describing it here.

In Norway the two representations have institutionalised in different political parties and organisations, and the whole political landscape is shaped by the capitalism discourse. Both representations can be found in the political field, while the socialist representation is dominating in the field of social movements. I will mainly refer to this representation in the later discussions of the discourse of in the case of ATTAC in Norway.

5.3 Struggles over categorisations of political actors

This part will focus on the discursive struggle over how to categorise and understand organisations and movements in the political field. The argument is that the discourse of new social movements challenges the discourse of party politics as the main organising principle in this field. There are clear links to the discourses in the previous section, and especially the party politics and the capitalism discourse can be seen as interdependent, with the political left being associated with the socialist representations of capitalism and the right with the liberal. Separating these has the same analytical aims as the separation in 5.2, and is best seen when comparing them to the determinants of success described in 5.1. In short, new social movement discourse is seen as representing novelty, truth and having a greater potential for mobilisation, which makes it important for understanding the success

of ATTAC in Norway. I will first describe the discourse of new social movements before turning to the discourse of capitalism.

The discourse of new social movements

The discourse is basically organised around the dichotomy of “new” and “old” social movements, even though there are some disagreements on what characterises the new. New social movements discourse is less complicated than globalisation discourse, and in this analysis the emphasis will be on five particular strong representations of movement characteristics.³⁶

The analysis in this part will be based upon chapter 5 in Faulks’ *Political Sociology* describing new social movements, a typical textbook, and Buechler overview and assessment over new social movement theories in the social sciences that summarises all the major contributions in this tradition.³⁷ The first indicates the importance this discourse has had on education and to a certain degree mainstream thinking, while the latter indicates the importance of this trend in European social science. The discourse developed from the growing critique against classical Marxist explanations of collective action, and these two texts can be illustrative of the discourse on social movements that is a part of ATTAC’s order of discourse. Neither of these have a discursive approach so they will, in the same way as many other contributions to this chapter, have to be adjusted to suit the analysis.

The contributions applied, and much of the literature on the theme, are much more sophisticated than the version presented here, where they are reduced to an illustration of a discourse. In short, where the applied texts describe and discuss real changes in movement’s characteristics, this project see a set of representations in a discourse on how new movements are. The discourse has its own existence, influencing which movements will be present in the field, and how they will present themselves.

The first representation in the new social movement discourse is that social movements are irreducible to class interest.³⁸ Instead of being class-based as traditional

³⁶ Examples of groups discussed in the literature applied include feminist groups, animal rights activists, gay groups, and ecological groups, and also ATTAC is frequently associated with these trends.

³⁷ Faulks 1999 and Buechler 1995

³⁸ Buechler 1995:456, this also means that they cannot be explored through realist structural location (ibid:448).

labour organisations these movements and organisations are described as being based on agreed-upon values and goals. In this connection one can also interpret their focus on post-material values, in that they are not seen as focusing upon issues of income, wealth or formal representation.³⁹ Rather they focus on issues situated in civil society, often with a global focus, which lead us to the next point. The second important representation in new social movement discourse is scepticism of the increasingly technocratic state exercising social control. As opposed to old social movements that are seen as supportive of the state, the new ones are seen as defenders of civil society against a coercive state that is rejected as a tool for change. This may be why their collective action often is situated in the cultural sphere where its symbolic function is emphasised.⁴⁰ The representation is somewhat contested, and many point out that new social movements still perform instrumental action towards the state and the political sphere.⁴¹

The third representation connected to new movement characteristics is their rejection of the old ideologies of liberalism and socialism,⁴² and consequently also the rejection of the established party politics discourse discussed later. This can really be seen as two representations, one variant being the rejection of all politics. It is not clear what the alternative is, and sometimes it is said to be the celebration of difference and pluralism rather than any specific formulated ideology.⁴³ Another variant is a rejection of the left-right division in politics. The latter bears a clear resemblance to the successful rhetoric of “New Democrats” in the U.S. and the related “New Labour” in Great Britain, described by Fairclough.⁴⁴

The fourth and fifth representations are especially interesting in a discourse analytical context because they carry themes that have been influential in other social fields and discourses. This can maybe explain some of their influence, and illustrate the process of diffusion of discourses. When being exposed to a discourse or representation in a field that is familiar from another one, and this discourse or representation is embraced in the

³⁹ Faulks 1999:92

⁴⁰ Melucci 1989, who supports this tendency while, Touraine (1985) sees the same but is critical.

⁴¹ Buechler 1995:442. For example, ATTAC Norway does not use this representation, and is supportive of the state.

⁴² Faulks 1999:94

⁴³ This bears resemblance to Habermas’ stress on the processes of autonomy and self-determination in social movements (Habermas 1984-1987 in Buechler 1995:442).

⁴⁴ Fairclough 2000a:48

field of origin, it influences positively the reception in the new field. The new discourse will immediately be understandable and appealing, and people will consciously and unconsciously be attracted to it. Without being able to place experiences and phenomena in familiar discourses, perceiving and relating to them is difficult.

The fourth representation, the emphasis on diversity in new social movement discourse, can be an example of diffusion of discourses. The representation is embedded in a diversity discourse that has been influential in many fields. Difference and cultural pluralism is in general celebrated, and emphasis on heterogeneous identities is described as having replaced the old movement's emphasis on homogeneity among the movement's participants.⁴⁵ Diversity is often seen as a part of descriptions of the "post-industrial society",⁴⁶ and it is also a well-known theme from studies of contemporary management theories that has been influential in the work sphere.⁴⁷ This familiarity may explain some of its success in the field of social movements. The diversity representation is also embedded in an individuality discourse that has become more important in late modern societies.⁴⁸ In management theories, diversity is seen as increasing organisational efficiency by broadening the competence and experience of the workforce, a new idea that appeared in the 1980's.⁴⁹ This means that when it travelled from this field to social movement field (or the other way around), it was already familiar and recognisable, thereby increasing the propensity of its influence. In addition, the theme is known from civil rights representations, which are familiar to the participants and potential participants of social movements.

Another example of the process of the diffusion of discourses, which could have been identified in all the representations but which are especially striking in the two last ones, is the emphasis on flexibility. This is the fifth and last representation that illustrates new social movement discourse, and again it is a common theme in late modernity. The representation of flexibility in new social movement discourse is embedded in a flexibility

⁴⁵ Faulks 1999:91-94

⁴⁶ Hatch 2001:41, the term is taken from Bell (1973) and refers to a new society organised around knowledge production and information, as opposed to an industrial society organised around production of commodities.

⁴⁷ Edelman et al. 2001, de los Reyes 2000

⁴⁸ For example evident in this field through Melucci's (1996:105) emphasis on the increased attention to the role of the individual as a new aspect of social movements.

⁴⁹ Edelman et al. 2001:1591; de los Reyes 2000:264. The idea can in politics be traced back to classic liberalism and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1996).

discourse that has been influential in many fields.⁵⁰ In new social movement discourse wariness of centralised and hierarchical forms of governance is seen as having led to an emphasis on loose networks of people working together.⁵¹ It is argued that these new non-hierarchical systems of organisations make the movements and organisations flexible and more adaptable, which are the same idea that can be found in contemporary management theories. The network idea is embedded in the language of flexibility, it came with the influence from Japan in the 1980's and stayed influential into the 90's. Basically it says that for goal attainment, small independent units are more efficient than large hierarchical ones, an argument strengthened by the increasing emphasis on the ability to change.⁵² Chiapello and Fairclough links flexibility to what they call the "third spirit of capitalism", characteristic of discourses since the 1980's, which is marked by talk on network firms, varying and differentiated production, fuzzy organisations and adaptability.⁵³

Flexibility is mainly connected to a neo-liberal discourse that also involves the economic globalisation discourse, but it can also be found in political and educational discourses, and in representations of everyday life.⁵⁴ In the same way as diversity, it is seen as a part of the influential descriptions of the "post-industrial" society.⁵⁵ Theories of flexibility are often normative and they advocate new flexible ways of organising both work and organisations in particular, and society in general. An example is Piore and Sabel's *The Second Industrial Divide*, stating that new commodity production must be flexible and specialised to be able to compete in a market where the demands change constantly.⁵⁶ This book, and contributions with the same message, have been important from the 1980's and they are still influential today. The view has had some opponents and many, especially on the political left and in the labour unions, have been critical.⁵⁷

⁵⁰ Whether we describe the units analysed as discourses or representations, will in many cases depend upon the particular study. In this case the representation of flexibility is the view that flexibility increases effectiveness, while the discourse of flexibility is broader, and includes all text production concerning flexibility. The same difference can be seen in regard to the representation of diversity as opposed to the discourse of diversity.

⁵¹ Faulks 1999:88; Buechler 1995:442; Melucci 1989

⁵² Røvik 1998:ch.11-12

⁵³ Chiapello and Fairclough 2002:189

⁵⁴ Fairclough 2000b:148

⁵⁵ Hatch 2001:41

⁵⁶ Piore and Sabel 1984

⁵⁷ For example Beck (1992:140), who accuses the new ideology in the work sphere for having removed the former assurances and protective functions of work.

It is interesting that the same representations can be found in such different fields, and some of the explanation can be the importance of the work field. In one way or another, everybody has to relate to this field, and most people spend a lot of time there, which make studies of management theories especially relevant. Still, the origin of the network and flexibility representations that is characteristic of new social movement discourse, can also be embedded in a democracy discourse with its ideas of political participation. The combination of influential discourses in one representation will make it more attractive and increase the potential for diffusion.

All these five representations are contested,⁵⁸ and a realist approach would have had to take this into consideration. For this project though, the main point is that there is a new and influential new social movement discourse present in the field of social movements.

An important insight in this approach is that discourses in one field are not limited to this particular field, and that discourses and representations move from field to field, and are being used to understand and evaluate different experiences. In this context, it is crucial to remember that the social fields and their orders of discourse are analytically constructed units, and that these constructions sometimes overshadow the fact that language first and foremost is situated in individuals, not in social fields. Related, an important factor in explaining the diffusion of discourses that is left out in much discourse analysis is strategic framing. This is the conscious effort of groups of people to introduce familiar discourses in new fields to achieve their goals. This strategic use of discourses is emphasised in framing theory, and the combination of framing theory and discourse analysis in this project tries to include this agency perspective in the study of social movements and organisations.

ATTAC's framing embedded in new social movement discourse

In Norway, the discourse of new social movements has been present in the social sciences, in media texts and in some dispersed ad hoc events.⁵⁹ ATTAC Norway was the first organisation to combine several of the representations from the new social movement discourse in the field of social movements in Norway, even though some of the

⁵⁸ Buechler 1995

⁵⁹ e.g. "Reclaim the streets"

representations also found their way to other organisations. This was especially the case for the diversity and flexibility representations.

The five representations in the new social movement discourse can be summoned up as: 1) irreducibility to economic class interest, 2) scepticism of the state, 3) rejection of old ideologies, 4) diversity and 5) flexibility. As we have seen in chapter 4, ATTAC uses at least four of these representations. Scepticism of the state is the only representation not important in ATTAC Norway texts. It was identified in the “them” framing, but it cannot in general be seen as important in Norway, where most of the participants in the organisation are strong supporters of the state. As already discussed this may be because social movements in Norway traditionally have been given a lot of influence from the state. In regard to the third representation ATTAC has emphasised being independent of party politics, and not politics in general such as other social movements framing in the same discourse. Jørgensen describes the organisation in this way:

*ATTAC represents as opposed to the traditional CSO's, a combination of being politically independent, locally based, globally oriented, network organised (non-hierarchical) and activist.*⁶⁰

In this short citation the impression from the analysis of the collective action framing is confirmed. The first representation is seen in the globally oriented cognitive clue, the third in the politically independent clue, and the fifth representation in the network clue. The presence of the diversity representation and the other representations are revealed repeatedly in chapter 4. If we analyse the different representations as discourses instead, which can be argued at least in the case of the last three representations, the citation also illustrates interdiscursivity in a text.⁶¹

The discourse of party politics

The party politics discourse can analytically be seen as opposing the discourse of new social movements. It is embedded in the discourse of capitalism. The discourse of party politics is organised around a main representation, a left-right dichotomy that has had great impact on all framing efforts and text production in the field of politics. The right is

⁶⁰ Jørgensen 2001:111

⁶¹ As already argued the representations of flexibility, diversity, and political independence can also be analysed as discourses.

associated with the owners and managers while the left is associated with the workers. In an industrial national-state based society this division made sense because it may be seen as the greatest conflict of interest. Still, the division includes more than pure interest-based policies, and today most political issues are in one way or the other, linked to this dichotomy. By being a system for producing statements, discourses constrain the production of meaning by constituting reality for people, and in politics the major principle of ordering is the right-left division.

Some issues follow the left-right principle of ordering more or less directly, such as immigration, foreign aid, state subsidies and private schools while other issues split the traditional division line. Still, many of the latter are framed in the party politics discourse such as discussions on EU and the relationship between the church and the state. Other examples include the trends in politics of “new left” and the “third way”,⁶² that, even though presenting something new, relate to the dominating representation of left and right. The “new left” confirms that there is a left and the “third way” places itself in between the two traditional ideologies. In this way it may strengthen the line of division it is challenging. Paradoxically, there does not seem to be another solution, because lacking the reference to the established discourse may risk that it would not be seen as part of politics at all. In most cases it will be possible to change or replace a dominating discourse, but it will take time. To explain the changes in discourses and in discursive orders is one of the weaknesses of much discourse analysis, and here perspectives with belief in and focus on agency, such as framing theory, can be helpful.

The importance of the left-right dichotomy can have several explanations. First it may be that there actually is a link between the cases, in that people can have different reasons for supporting the same stand, and these reasons can be based on values from the traditional ideologies. Secondly, it can be that people’s identity and language is so influenced by the traditional political discourse that they cannot produce statements outside it, and in this way it is an example of discourses restricting the production of possible statements. Thirdly, it may be that for actors framing to be understood by the recipients it must be presented in familiar discourse. The latter illustrates that discourses also restrict the diffusion and understanding of statements. Probably it is a combination of the three, but

⁶² e.g. Giddens 1998, even though the concept is used in a general sense here.

this analysis focus on the last two, which are the ones with a basis in social constructivist theory.

The discourse of party politics will by its dominant left-right representation oppose the reality claims of the main representations in the new social movement discourse. Movements and organisations in this field will be seen as political and representing economic interests in accordance with the right-left dimension. The left, where most of the organisations in the field of social movements in Norway can be placed, will then be in favour of a strong state to control the capital and protect the citizens. Diversity and flexibility are downplayed because these have not traditionally been values embraced by the political left. Diversity because it is seen as opposing equality, and flexibility because it is seen as opposing justice.

In Norway the left-right dichotomy has been dominant in the political field since the formation in 1887 and growing importance of the Labour party. Together with the discourse of capitalism, it has in the 20th century organised both political organisations and CSO's in the same way as in the rest of Western Europe. In addition, the dichotomy has in Norway neither been challenged by "third way" rhetoric, as in Germany and especially Great Britain, nor as in most European countries by a "Green Party" not definable along the traditional dividing lines. Hence it is still dominating popular political categorisations in Norway today.

So far in this chapter I described the social constructivist structural landscape in which ATTAC emerged. The discourses and discursive struggles are an important part of this. While many will question the relevancy of this for the understanding ATTAC Norway, I will argue that it is necessary to understand the basic idea in discourse analysis that discourses are systems of meaning-production with a logic of their own. This is difficult to see unless actually describing these systems, and much discourse analysis is confined with identifying, tracing the origins of, and revealing the basic characteristics of discourses. It is difficult to understand the power of discourses without describing them. I have spent less space on revealing how ATTAC's framing is embedded in the discourses in question, which is crucial for the argument involving the determinants of success, because this is evident in the close descriptions of the organisation's framing in chapter 4. The next section will be more specific in relating the discourses to the success of the organisation.

5.4 Structure and understanding of ATTAC's success

In a structural approach we can see the influence of the order of discourse on ATTAC Norway in three ways: 1) ATTAC can be seen as a product of its time, 2) ATTAC's framing is restricted and enabled by discourses in the process of construction, and 3) ATTAC's framing is restricted and enabled by discourses in the perception process.

First, by transferring the historical insight that environment determines some aspects of the structures of organisations to a social constructivist framework, we can say that organisations are formed by the dominating discourses of today.⁶³ This will be advantageous for them in that they will seem more attractive. I have revealed this in the case of ATTAC Norway. Established organisations are embedded in discourses from their initial period, and these "old" discourses are in several ways invested and institutionalised in the organisation by, for example, the socialisation of members and employees. Established organisations will on the other hand, have great advantages in possessing resources such as money, power, and connections to decision-makers that new organisations will have to spend years to match.

Second, when ATTAC forms statements and tries to mobilise they are restricted and dependent upon the order of discourse in their social field. As all other actors they will be influenced and dependent upon social constructed systems of meaning in their language. They cannot say whatever they want and they cannot think whatever they want, because our thinking is social and to a large degree mediated and influenced by language. When the organisation challenges the established discourses and the established organisations, it must use discourses taken from somewhere, and in this case it was the discourses of globalisation and new social movements. They are also restricted in that it can be difficult to avoid the established discourses, discursive inertia. I will return to this in chapter 6. At the same time these discourses makes construction of meaning possible, and in this way enables the organisation's framing.

Third, when having formed statements, the reception or resonance will depend on the dominating discourses among the recipients. Statements constructed in a specific

⁶³ Stinchcombe 1964 is one of the first to advocate the importance of time of origin for the formal and informal structures in an organisation.

discourse can change their meaning when being interpreted in a different one. The two last points reminds us of the most important point in chapter 5, namely that the cognitive cues, stories and representations in collective action framing cannot be understood outside discourses. The discourses are systems of meaning that give the separate elements meaning, effect, and make them understandable. The discourses are not deliberate constructions, they have a logic of their own, and this is why discourse analysis is a necessary part of a study of strategic framing. Including structures also delimits the voluntarism that is build into framing theory.

Chapter 5 has so far presented some discourses in ATTAC's order of discourse and this presentation has emphasised two of them. First, a rather open globalisation discourse which has been influential in many fields, and second, a new social movement discourse which has been important in the field of social movements. The discourses base their legitimacy on their origin in the scientific field. With regard to ATTAC Norway, the association with the value of truth came from the embedding in these two discourses. The globalisation discourse played an important role here, and the fact that they used this discourse gave the recipients the impression of a high level of expert knowledge.⁶⁴ The association with truth was strengthened by the repeatedly use of a scientific vocabulary, the formation of a scientific council, and references to scientific studies. Another important element that gave the organisation this value was the emphasis on the story of the Tobin tax, the proposal of the Nobel Prize-winning economist James Tobin. The combination of the strong symbol in the Nobel Prize and the science of economy, the most influential of the social sciences and often seen as tending towards the political right, proved to have great effect in the field of social movements.

While the discourses of globalisation and new social movement based their legitimacy on the origin in the scientific field, they based their attractiveness on representing novelty. In regard to ATTAC, the organisation's use of these two discourses explains why it was seen as substantially new. The mobilisation potential was also greater in these discourses than in the competing and already institutionalised discourses of capitalism and party politics. In Norway, the organisation combined several representations that had not yet been institutionalised in the field of social movements. The two most

⁶⁴ Not to implicate that they did not possess it.

important representations were the ones of flexibility and diversity embedded in the influential discourses of flexibility and diversity known from management theories and the field of work.

Structurally, ATTAC's success can be explained by it representing the new, its link to the field of science, and in it representing discourses not yet formally institutionalised. With this potential for success in their collective action framing, ATTAC needed an opportunity to present these for the world. It is not enough to have a text that potentially can create resonance, the text must also be communicated in order to have any effect. The atmosphere in media after Seattle and the other demonstrations, gave them an opportunity to reach the audience via mass media. Newspaper articles sparked the initial interest, while books and documents became important when potential supporters later searched for more information about the organisation. The demonstrations can be seen as social practice, a form of interaction, which will be discussed more in detail in section 6.4.

Time of emergence and the news genre

Discourses are social constructivist structures that influence the diffusion of organisations. Another structure that has been crucial in this case is time of emergence. Snow and Benford's discussion on "cycles of protests"⁶⁵ is a part of this, but the argument here is more specific. It concerns the situation in media and society in the period of ATTAC Norway's emergence. As we have seen so far, the organisation had a well adapted set of representations in regard to the order of discourse, however they also needed a forum to present these in. The demonstrations in Seattle started off the contemporary attention to new social movements, assisted by factors appealing to the news genre such as mobilisation of great crowds, carnival atmosphere, and rioting. After Seattle when the media had discovered what social theory had called attention to for some time, namely new social movements with a global focus, the search started for its representatives in Norway. Since there were few organisations combining both the main representations in new social movement discourse, and an emphasis on globalisation issues, ATTAC soon became the local symbol of this international phenomenon. This provided the organisation with media

⁶⁵ Snow and Benford 1992

covering that exceeded the size and importance of the organisation.⁶⁶ Later, the demonstrations in Genoa, Gothenburg and the latest one in Oslo continued this trend. Even though there were many organisations involved, the focus tended to be on ATTAC.

The major attention from the media became a self-fulfilling prophecy in that it helped the mobilisation of both new members and organisations. A mechanism here, especially on the part of the organisations joining, was a wish to be attached to the new and popular. The bandwagon discourse made it difficult for established organisation not to support ATTAC, and it seemed to be a competition between established organisations to exceed each other in embracing and infiltrating it.

A newspaper initiated ATTAC Norway, which is another element for understanding the success. This meant there was a lot of knowledge on how to make it newsworthy, and the news genre can explain some of the reasons for the great attention the organisation got. A genre is use of language constituting part of some particular social practice,⁶⁷ and the news genre is characterised by highlighting the new and dramatic and minimising the number of actors and issues. This can explain the one-sided focus on ATTAC, making it possible for the organisation to present their framing. Still, it was not only favourable, and the same mechanisms providing crucial access to the media, later linked the organisation to violence. In the news genre violence is highlighted because it is dramatic and gets attention from the readers. So even though almost all the journalists knew the organisation could not be held directly responsible for the violence conducted in the demonstration, the combination of the news media's focus on violence and the organisation being the symbol of the demonstrations made this the main impression people was left with. The link to violence became one of the most serious obstacles for their framing efforts.

Finally, ATTAC's position in the globalisation issue did not suit the news genre, with its tendency to minimise the number of issues. This is an example of too complex framing. The combination of opposition to economical globalisation and support of political globalisation was a difficult message to communicate in news articles structured to simplify, and in most cases not distinguishing between the different representations of globalisation. Still, the fact that they used the word globalisation sent the signal that they were up-dated and progressive.

⁶⁶ In the Swedish case described quantitatively and in detail by Heimerson (2001).

⁶⁷ Fairclough 1995a:56

5.5 The interdependence of framing and discourses

Throughout chapter 4 and 5 we have seen that to understand ATTAC's framing it is necessary to combine perspectives emphasising structures and agency. In this thesis the need for including an agency perspective has revealed, first in the discussion of diffusion of discourses from one field to another, which lead to changes in the discursive order, and later in understanding the interdiscursivity of ATTAC's texts. It seemed clear that the actors had an agenda, and that they pursued strategies, or in the words of framing theory that they framed strategically. It is the individual's statements that make up larger discourses and hence the purpose of the individuals must be taken into account when analysing them. It would be naive to assert that the actors are totally unaware of the effects their texts have on the recipients, especially when discussing organisations with clearly stated objectives and strategies. We have also seen that it is easier to see strategic agency when studying particular texts in the difference between chapter 4 and 5. As we remember from the theory chapter, this is Fairclough's argument versus the lack of agency in Foucault writing.⁶⁸

The need for including a structural level has been seen in how representations and cognitive cues involving globalisation, flexibility, diversity, and rejection of traditional politics cannot be analysed on their own. In ATTAC's texts they sometime appear as full arguments, or representations, but in most cases they are present as cognitive cues indicating representations in discourses.

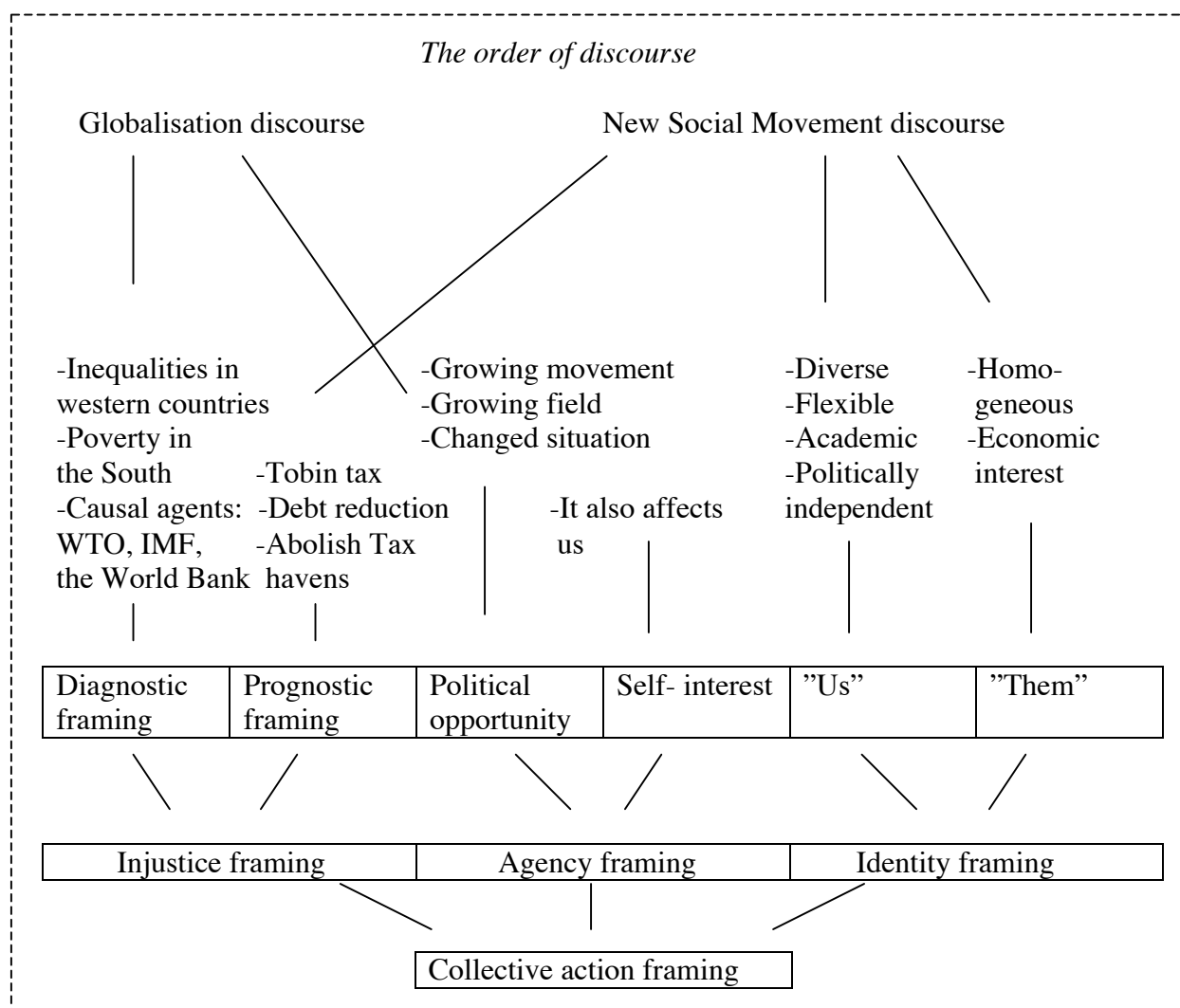
In their diagnostic framing, neo-liberal or economic globalisation is seen as the cause of the problem. However, understanding the meaning and effect of this description of the cause is difficult without including an analysis of the globalisation discourse. To include this discourse becomes crucial for understanding the organisation's framing and the effect it has had on the recipients. The prognostic framing, with its focus on few concrete issues, must be seen against the background of a new social movement discourse which has advocated the rise of organisations without an overall ideology, and with focus on just a few issues at the time. In framing political opportunity, the emphasis on a changed situation

⁶⁸ Fairclough 1992:ch.2

has its resonance in the globalisation discourse, and its description of the new world order. The self-interest framing on the other hand is more obvious, and less dependent upon a structural analysis, except for a rather broad one emphasising the value of self-interest in capitalism, and differences in egoism across time and societies.

When it comes to the “us” part of the identity framing, there are many representations at play. We can at least talk of two influential ones: diversity and flexibility. Together with representations of being political independent they are a part of the new social movement discourse. Their success is interpreted as supported scientifically, because it is a description of the new originating in the social sciences. The homogeneity statements in the “them” framing are also related as the negative counterpart in a homogeneity-plurality dichotomy in the diversity discourse. The focus on being academic can be seen as the value of science or as a characteristic of new movements, and thus embedded in the new social movement discourse. Representations of the growth of the movement and growth of the field of international social movements and organisations can be understood on their own as agency framing, and framing the opponent as only concerned with economic interest is helpful on its own by questioning their motives and morale. Compared to model 3, 4 and 5, the argument can be summarised in this model.

Model 6: The interdependence of framing and discourses in ATTAC's collective action framing.



The discourses mentioned here are only two out of many involved in the collective action framing, but I will argue that they are the two most important ones. They both carry the values of novelty and truth that are influential in modernity. ATTAC's cognitive cues and representations on for example diversity, flexibility and rejection of politics have mobilising effects in that they signal that the organisation represents something new and, according to the argument in 5.1, therefore better. Globalisation cues and representations serve the same function. They are not only a diagnosis, but carries important symbolic meanings that the potential supporters understand. In this way, we can see how cognitive cues and representations have mobilising effects due to their embedding in certain

discourses, which brings together framing theory and discourse analysis and reveals their interdependence.

So far we have seen the influence of both cognitive cues and representations as indicators and mediators of discourses. Stories were the third element mediating discourses in the theory chapter. They have a more autonomous status in relation to discourses, but they play an important role in the discourse. It has not been emphasised in this thesis, but in my case, the stories of the effects of globalisation and stories of the success of “new” social movements were crucial in understanding the appeal of the discourses of globalisation and new social movements. The stories served as important “proofs” of the reality claims in the discourses.

Concluding remarks

The success of ATTAC Norway can be explained by it representing the discourses of globalisation and new social movements. Through the embedding in these discourses it became associated with the crucial values of novelty and truth, which are important factors for organisational success. The discourses can be seen as competing with the more familiar discourses of capitalism and party politics in representing the world and categorising political actors, and they are all important parts of the order of discourse in the field of social movements in Norway. The embedding in globalisation and new social movement discourse also gave the organisation greater mobilising potential, because capitalism and party politics discourse already was institutionalised formally in political organisations and parties.

The overall argument so far in chapter 4 and 5 can be consistent with the theory of action in the framing perspective in social movements theory. Actors may deliberately use larger cultural constructions, in this case discourses and representations, in their framing. Still, the inclusion of structure and especially discourses into the analysis implies challenging the underlying rational choice theory of action in framing theory. The crucial question is whether the statements studied are the product of deliberate actors or discourses? By including discourses it is easier to see the structural limitations in that

discourses are “constricting the possible position of speaking subjects”.⁶⁹ Hence, successful framing and mobilisation will not only rely on well-developed collective action frames, but also on the order of discourse in the social field, and an organisation’s position in this order.

Social movements cannot speak or write independently, they must start from given discourses and produce statements in accordance with these. Combining agency and structural perspectives, movement’s can be seen as structurally limited in that they cannot make up their own autonomous discourses and representations. Their agency is evident in the active role they play in for example combining interdiscursively elements from different discourses and in introducing discourses to new fields. ATTAC did both, combining several representations from different discourses, and introduced the discourses of flexibility, pluralism and globalisation into the field of social movements. These discourses where taken from, among other places, the field of science in general and management theory in particular.

ATTAC Norway’s structurally limited agency assisted the success of the organisation in the initial phase. However the organisation also met resistance and challenges in the form of discursive inertia and counterframing from opposing groups. These limitations to ATTAC’s framing and success will be the topic of the next chapter.

⁶⁹ Foucault 1972a:122

6. LIMITATIONS

This chapter will discuss the possible limitations to the success of ATTAC in Norway based on the already applied theories of framing theory and discourse analysis. It will be less systematic than the two former chapters, and only mention some of the most important discursive challenges that ATTAC faced in the initial period and still faces today. The part on agency will be based on framing theory, while the one on structure will be inspired by discourse analysis. In short we may say that framing theory counts better for resistance while discourse analysis is better to understand the inertia challenging innovative framing. One argument in this chapter will be that the inertia involved in the perception of new frames was more restricting for ATTAC than the more visible resistance from outsiders. Still discursive inertia is interrelated to counterframing and especially framing disputes within the organisation, which will be revealed in the continuing.

In chapter 4 it was argued that most of ATTAC Norway's framing had a transnational character. Stories, representations and cognitive cues were taken from the international branch of the organisation, revolving around the great demonstrations across the world and on the particular situation in France in the initiating period. The importance of being a part of an international movement, explains why the frames were relatively similar. In the structural part of this chapter, it will be emphasised how these transnational frames were positioned in a Norwegian political discourse, and which challenges they met there. This part will be closely related to chapter 5.

6.1 Agency

All the emphasis upon agency does not imply the framing theorists believe the actors can frame the world in any way they want for their potential supporters. Benford and Snow state that there are a variety of restrictions to framing activity. The three most important are: first, counterframing by movement's opponents, bystanders and the media, second, frame disputes within the movements, and finally the dialectic between frames and events.¹

¹ Benford and Snow 2000:625

The first two restricting factors are just other active actors, and hence do not challenge the overall agency focus in the argument. The final factor, the dialectic between frames and events, is another example of the mixing of realist and social constructivist approaches that Snow and Benford has done before.² Except for reminding of the argument from the theory chapter that these “real” events also must pass through language, and that reality can be seen as preconstituted, these discussions are outside the scope of this project.

Counterframing

Analysing the counterframing systematically would be another research project, and there is only space enough for a small discussion in this section. It is clear that ATTAC had their opponents and that these were organised and active in the media, and the organisation’s framing were contested most of the time. Except for the more general challenge from critical journalists and bystanders in Norway there where also organised opposition through the formation of the organisation MotAttac.³ This organisation consisted mainly of people from the Conservatives youth organisation (Unge Høyre). The opponent’s framing, both the organised and the unorganised, challenge ATTAC’s on a couple of core issues, and studying these can reveal some limitations to the success of the organisations. This may also help us understand the subsequent decreasing interest in the organisation. The most common counterframing is the linking of ATTAC to violence⁴ and the political left, examples of both are seen in the next citations:

Just a couple of weeks ago ATTAC, Nei til EU, and radical youth organisations minimised the problem of violence and vandalism during the international meetings.⁵ Bernard Cassan recently stated that(...)”he sees the damaging of McDonald as a symbolic act with political and pedagogical aims”(...)all attempts so far with planned economy has failed”.⁶

ATTAC is here challenged on violence, which, if successful, is devastating for an organisation aiming at a broad segment of the population. This argument is strengthened by the description of the “law and order” discourse in the next section. ATTAC is at the same time challenged on political ideology, thereby opposing directly the important

² see Snow and Benford 1988:207

³ In English ”CounterAttac”

⁴ e.g. Aftenposten 05.04. and Aftenposten 23.06.

⁵ Wiedswang in Dagens Næringsliv 23.06.

⁶ Rohde and Behnke Aftenposten 05.04.

representation of political independence. There are also frequent challenges to the organisation's prognostic framing in the opponent's material. Here are two examples:

Poverty is not caused by globalisation.⁷ Poor countries want more free trade, simply because access to the markets can get them better off both politically and economically. Norway and other western countries are satisfied with giving one percent of the GNP in foreign aid. Then the rich have done their duty.⁸

Other statements include accusations of being nationalists and protectionists,⁹ anti-globalists, or not having enough knowledge about economic issues.¹⁰ In relation to the Tobin tax this framing also use the fact that Tobin himself did not want to be associated with the organisation.¹¹ In general, we see a lot of the same way of arguing here as in ATTAC's own texts with references to recognised norms, self-interest, and science. The organisation's texts can be compared to this counterframing. The organisation actively answers the violence claims in articles such as "*ATTAC – but not with stones*",¹² and the anti-globalist statement in pieces such as "*ATTAC supports globalisation*".¹³ The latter answers the counterframing accusing ATTAC of being opposed to all kinds of globalisation. The already mentioned representation of party-political independence must be seen in relation to the accusations of being a leftist organisation.

The opponents of ATTAC in Norway had problems organising and getting support. They never managed to produce a set of collective action frames, which appealed to people. MotAttac is illustrating, it was small and unimportant throughout the initiating period, even though there may be other reasons for this except for the framing. Still, the organisation had some counterframing that proved effective. Of these were the previously mentioned challenges on violence and being political leftist the most damaging. It would be wrong to put too much emphasis on the active opponents in understanding the restrictions to the diffusion of the organisation. Compared to the support ATTAC received from established organisations, influential people and newspapers, its opponents had little "human"

⁷ Brødholt in Dagens Næringsliv 30.03.

⁸ Eriksen in Aftenposten 02.04.

⁹ Brødholt in Dagens Næringsliv 30.03., Rohde and Behnke in Aftenposten 05.04., Eriksen in Aftenposten 02.04.

¹⁰ Wiedswang in Dagbladet 13.10.

¹¹ Eriksen in Aftenposten 02.04.

¹² Headline Drange in Dagbladet 05.07. Other e. g. includes Berge in Dagsavisen 19.05. and Goffeng and Laudal in Dagens Næringsliv 23.08.

¹³ Headline Goffeng and Laudal in Dagens Næringsliv 23.08.

resources or legitimacy. Taking into account economical resources would of course balance this picture.

When studying the text produced by the opponents, we find that they use many of the same strategies as ATTAC. These strategies can also be found in other social movement organisations in the field. Still, some organisations have more success than others. This can be because some actors are better rhetorically, which is emphasised in framing theory, but there are also cases where it is difficult to find differences in rhetoric skill. The latter makes it necessary to open up for more structural analysis, and analyse conceptual power.

Frame disputes within the movement

Benford and Snow's second challenge to framing activity is frame disputes within the movement. In ATTAC Norway, this was an important factor in the initial phase and characterised much of the work in the provisional council. Different organisations and individuals seemed to have their own agenda, which can be seen for example in the crucial framing contest between groups representing the traditional left and groups trying to overcome the old left-right political division. I will not emphasise to identify the particular networks or individuals representing these different fractions, but only point to the way both parts tries to frame issues and events in coherence with their political ideology, thereby influencing what kind of organisation ATTAC is perceived to be. The fraction and network activity was most important at the top of the organisation, and for my purpose, explaining the broad success of ATTAC, it is less crucial to identify the particularities in this struggle for power. Identifying the contrasting world-views or discourses becomes more important in my project, because these are the ones mobilising "regular" members. The struggles for power at the top of the organisation is important for those people at the top, but this should not mislead us into thinking it is necessarily important for the majority in the organisation. This is confirmed in the Norwegian case by Berntsen's study. She describes how the fraction activity peaked in the provisional council, got less in the permanent council, and was to a large degree missing in the local groups.¹⁴ Still there was

¹⁴ Berntsen 2002:64

in 2001 and is today, significant difference in the view upon what kind of organisation ATTAC is supposed to be along the lines of the discourses discussed in this project.

So far in the analysis the similarity between the authors has been emphasised, but to illustrate the frame disputes in ATTAC, Clinell's text can be seen as representing the left and Jørgensen's text the part trying to overcome the dichotomy in the texts studied. If this framing contest becomes too dominant, it will be harder to frame successfully because of the ambiguity in the message. For ATTAC, this has been a problem in regards to statements rejecting the traditional political left, and can, for example, be evident in both how much emphasis is put upon the "break" with established organisations, and how many issues the organisations should include. As we have seen the representation of party-political independence has been important, but is still one of the least successful, at least after the initial period. It has been both a target of counterframing from opponents and an issue for internal frame disputes. Except for the explicit rejection of the political independence representation within the organisation, the elements in the organisation challenging this representation have been the general language in some of their texts, and the leftist connection of many of the individual participants and organisations. Together, these factors have made the interpretation of ATTAC as a leftist organisation common for both outsiders and members. In short, we can say that the political independence issue was difficult to solve because it involved language and the difficulty of producing text outside established discourses. This will be important in the next section

Another important issue that has caused internal frame disputes in ATTAC is the question of ATTAC's position in regard to Norwegian membership in the EU. The protagonists feared that ATTAC would be taken over by the opponents. Even though it was decided early that the organisation should not take a position on the EU question, it was the most dominant conflict in the provisional council.¹⁵ A part of the compromise was that the *Political Platform* of ATTAC in Norway should have a passage stating that they were still allowed to criticise the acts and decisions of the Union. The EU question posed a severe threat in the beginning, but as it turned out, it seemed as if a solution was found.

¹⁵ For details see Jørgensen 2001 and Berntsen 2002. Jørgensen himself is a protagonist for membership, and this issue sometimes seems to be the second agenda of his book (e.g. Jørgensen 2001:87,90).

6.2 Structure

The elements in the order of discourse opposing ATTAC's framing attempts are structural restrictions. An important restriction, and a new element in the order of discourse, will be that the organisation's representations of globalisation, flexibility and diversity broke with the organisation of political actors in the Norwegian discourse on Europe. This discourse organises political actors into protagonists and opponents of Norwegian membership in the EU, and ATTAC Norway mixes representations from both sides of the opposition. The categorisation is based on the basic elements in the Norwegian political discourse. Related to this are the restrictions posed by the strongest nodal point in the Norwegian political discourse, the concept "folkelighet".¹⁶ Several of ATTAC's characteristics can be seen as opposing "folkelighet", which is devastating for social mobilisation in a Norwegian context.

Another element in the order of discourse that has restricted the success of ATTAC is the strength of the discourse of law and order. This discourse has been difficult for the organisation because it has been associated with violence in the mass media. This makes people interpret and evaluate their actions and statements in this discourse, even though the actual media texts often emphasises that the members of ATTAC are neither violent nor criminal. The final restriction to the organisation's framing and success is found in the inertia in discursive struggles. This is maybe the most important challenge the organisation faces. In chapter 5 globalisation and capitalism discourse, and new social movement and party politics discourse was analysed as oppositions in discursive struggles in the field of social movements. The argument was that ATTAC had success because it was seen as representing the new and scientific. In the present chapter, the argument will be that the organisation at the same time might have been restricted in their framing by the already established discourses. The "order of discourse" in people's minds does not change overnight and the discourses of capitalism and party politics are still important for people's perception. The strength of these, supported by the fact that one could find both the "old" individuals and the "old" rhetoric in ATTAC, was a challenge for the representation of political independence.

¹⁶ In English: "of the people" or "like the people".

In the following, I will first discuss some particularities of the Norwegian political discourse that restricts the success of ATTAC, a categorisation of political actors in Norwegian discourse on Europe and the concept “folkelighet”, before turning to the restrictions posed by the discourses of law and order and discursive inertia. Remember that while chapter 5 discussed the elements in the order of discourse that favoured ATTAC’s success, the present chapter discusses the restrictions to this same success. Consequently new elements in the order of discourse in the field of social movements will be introduced.

Categorisations of political actors in the discourse on Europe

This thesis has so far discussed the importance of the categorisation of political actors in the party politics discourse. Another important categorisation of political actors in Norway is found in Iver B. Neumann’s *Norge – en kritikk*, an analysis of Norwegian discourse on Europe.¹⁷ The analysis centres around the debates related to the referendums on Norwegian membership in the EEC in 1972 and EU in 1994. Norway is the only country having rejected an offer of membership, and they have done it twice. These two elections have facilitated extensive social mobilisation and had great impact on politics in Norway, and the categorisation of political actors based on this discourse is still crucial in the field of social movements. Neumann’s analysis identifies the main concepts and dichotomies at work in the discussions on EU membership, and traces their origin genealogically in Norwegian political discourse.¹⁸ The conceptualisations and dichotomies can in this way be seen as the deep structures that lie underneath all production of meaning in the political discourse in Norway. Even though ATTAC may have rejected the discourses of party politics and capitalism in the initial phase, they had to relate to the general conceptualisations and oppositions in the Norwegian political discourse. By relating to these oppositions, the

¹⁷ Neumann 2001b

¹⁸ Neumann’s argument is that the opponents won the elections because they had superior resources in the already existing discourses, in other words superior conceptual power. He reveals how the protagonists even though they had more power resources, was defeated by the discursive resources of the opponents. He starts in the 17th century with the construction of a Norwegian state and culture, and reveals how many of the conceptualisations and oppositions at work there remain the same in the debates on EU membership in 1972 and 1994, even though their limits and specific content differ.

organisation would be vulnerable for categorisations according to the Norwegian discourse on Europe, which potentially may halve the sentiment pool to recruit from.¹⁹

My analysis will focus on the role the oppositions in Neumann's analysis had in organising the political actors in connection to the EU debates, since this was one of the major issues discussed in Norwegian politics and in social movements the last decades. The EU issue was also important in the initial phase of ATTAC Norway. This issue has in many ways organised production of meaning in the field of social movements, and thereby also the categorisation of political actors. The main issue here is to demonstrate how this categorisation can be seen as a challenge to ATTAC's framing efforts. These are some of the effective dichotomies or oppositions mentioned by Neumann.²⁰

Norway	EU
Autonomy ("selvråderett")	Union
People	State
The national assembly ("Stortinget")	Bureaucracy
Sovereignty	Supranational
Open	Closed
Equality/sameness ("likhet")	Difference
Static	Mobile
Countryside ("land")	City
Welfare	Competition
Take care of/caring ("omsorg")	Strength

In short, the concepts to the left are the ones associated with the opponents of EU membership, while the ones on the right are associated with the protagonists. As we can see ATTAC's position differ in the different conceptualisations, and they cannot be categorised as a political actor according to their position in these oppositions. They have some

¹⁹ If the aim was to understand construction of meaning in general connected to ATTAC's framing, I would have had to analyse in detail how the different representations related to the different concepts and oppositions in the Norwegian political discourse. But since the aim here is to discuss the limitations that these conceptualisations represented for the organisation, it will only be discussed how the general ordering of them into categorisations of political actors challenge ATTAC's framing efforts.

²⁰ Neumann 2001b:35, my translation.

statements which can be seen as characteristics of protagonists of EU. First, ATTAC emphasises difference and mobility, which equals the diversity and flexibility representation identified in their collective action framing. Second, they describe globalisation processes, which if included in Neumann's analysis, would have been placed on the right as characteristics of protagonist rhetoric. The emphasis on globalisation processes has been the main argument favouring Norwegian membership. At the same time, ATTAC emphasises and uses cognitive cues such as the people, "omsorg", welfare, openness, and other themes closer to the opponents of EU. Their focus on democracy is, for example, easily associated with the values of "selvråderett", "Stortinget" and sovereignty. The mixing of representations and discourses illustrate the interdiscursivity in the organisation's texts.

We have already seen that ATTAC challenges the categorisation in the party politics discourse, and here we see that the organisation was also hard to categorise also in Norwegian discourse on Europe. The interdiscursive combination of themes and representations in the international ATTAC's collective action framing broke with an ordering of political actors in Norway, and in this way the Norwegian discourse on Europe represented a challenge for ATTAC Norway. It is hard for people to relate to new organisations if they cannot place them into familiar categorisations, and it is easy for opponents to attack these new organisations by putting them into the established categorisations. In Norway, this was seen when ATTAC Norway was accused of being both pro-EU, or taken over by protagonists, and opposed to or taken over by the opponents of EU. Because ATTAC had themes and representation from both the protagonist's and the opponent's side in the EU-question, it was easy for the critics on both sides to find elements in the organisation's rhetoric that supported their argument and placed ATTAC among the opponents.

On the other hand, we cannot leave out that breaking the established categorisation of political actors was a resource. The organisation can mix the most popular cognitive cues and representations, and this interdiscursivity makes it easy for people to recognise elements that supported the stands they already had. The way this interpretative potential can be related to the initial growth and subsequent stabilisation and declining interest in the organisation, will be discussed in the section 6.3

The Norwegian "folkelighet"

The importance of being "folkelig" is crucial in a Norwegian political discourse. It is emphasised by Berntsen²¹, who again bases it on work in social anthropology by Henningsen and Vike, and Lien, Lidén and Vike.²² In the Nordic region, there is a strong presence of popular power, and the social movements in these countries have had great influence in public arenas.²³ It is therefore important for organisations to present themselves as being "of the people" and "like the people" to gain influence. Berntsen emphasises that this was one of the main aims of the ATTAC's framing in Norway, and she presents several examples of this framing.

I will argue that ATTAC had several characteristics that opposed the common conception of "folkelighet", something that became a constricting factor for the organisation. ATTAC Norway is not "like the people", because it more than any other social movements in this field has become associated with academia, usually seen as an opposition to "the people". In addition its emphasis on globalisation, the initiation from *Morgenbladet*, and its origin in France all increased the elite impression.²⁴ ATTAC Norway also has an emphasis on distant problems as opposed to a mix of close and distant problems in ATTAC in France. To talk of close problems will in most cases be regarded as more "folkelig" than a focus on distant problems, mainly because people know more of the situation in their own country than of the situation in other countries. Summarised, the organisation faced some serious challenges in being perceived as "folkelige", even though they actively tried to be seen this way, and this delimited their mobilisation.

The discourse of law and order

The law and order discourse is another element that has been influential in ATTAC's order of discourse, and it represented one of the major challenges for the organisation. The discourse of law and order can be connected to Foucault's claims that normality is one of

²¹ 2002:ch.4

²² Henningsen and Vike 1999, and Lien, Lidén and Vike 2001

²³ Berntsen 2002:75

²⁴ In Norway often associated with the cultural elite.

the new forms of expressions of power in modernity, and that the category of crime and the criminal was constructed at the end of the classical age.²⁵ The nodal point in the discourse is criminality and it involves a strong condemnation of actions and people that are understood as criminal, and therefore deviants. Another characteristic is that there is an idea that one can easily separate criminal acts from non-criminal, and criminal people from non-criminal. This representation is embedded in the judicial system where the question is guilty or not guilty. Examples of this discourse can be found in political rhetoric, especially on the political right. In Norway the populist political right party Fremskrittspartiet is well-known for extensive framing in this discourse, and illustrative of the growing importance of this discourse, they have had growing support and are today one of the largest political parties in Norway.

Another indicator of the spread of a law and order discourse is the diffusion of the cognitive cue “zero tolerance”, from its origin in New York politics to politics in Norway.²⁶ The discourse of law and order is not a new discourse, but its importance in politics is growing. It is supported by, and can be found in, TV series and movies (detective and police stories), where the morale is clear and the good guys easily can be separated from the bad guys. The law and order discourse has an influential position in people’s life, because violence and economical losses and the fear combined with it, is a part of individuals every-day life. It is therefore extremely damaging for organisations and people to be seen as criminal or supporting criminals.

The close association with the violent demonstrations is a paradox in the case of ATTAC. In one way the violence was the main reason for the media coverage the demonstrations got and the media coverage was the main reason for the extraordinary reception the organisation got. On the other hand, violence was a great problem, because it associated them with crime in an influential law and order discourse. For the organisation in Norway, partaking in the great demonstrations where most of the media covering centred upon violence has been a serious challenge to its influence and support. To illustrate, in 2001 there were written 139 pieces in the newspapers Dagbladet and Aftenposten that had the word ATTAC in it, of which 36 had some kind of link with violence or criminality. In

²⁵ Foucault 1994:166;224-227

²⁶ It has been used in relation to tagging in Oslo. Fairclough’s (2000a:77) discussion of a “penal discourse”, resembles the law and order discourse.

all cases this was linked to the great demonstrations. This especially peaked during the demonstrations in Gothenburg. Even though the content of these texts often emphasised that the organisation could not be held responsible for the vandalism, the impression the reader was left with was that there were some kind of connection between the organisation and criminal activity. This was probably particularly true for the general public and less for the already devoted supporters. When people started to interpret the organisation and their texts in a law and order discourse, it made the organisation less popular. One obvious example is the name ATTAC, which in a political or social movement discourse is unproblematic, but in a law and order discourse devastating.

Tendencies of rioting in demonstrations are more problematic in Norway than in, for example, France, where it has been more common. We can say that while some violence and vandalism has been a part of the political discourse in France, and hence more accepted as a means, it has not been a part of political discourse in Norway. Consequently, in Norway these tendencies will not be interpreted as political statements, but rather as criminality, and in this way do more damage.

The discourses of party politics and capitalism

The final problem discussed is the party politics and capitalism discourses. Because of their strong position it was hard to reject the way of ordering in left and right, and hard to avoid the language of capitalism that supported this ordering. Many of ATTAC's members came from the traditional left, and some of the rhetoric also originated here. In this way the organisation became associated with the left, and in media texts there are several examples of associations between the organisation and communist and socialist ideology.²⁷ The strength of the party politics discourse and the left-right dichotomy were great obstacles to the organisation, because their representations challenged it. They attempted to place themselves outside the left-right dichotomy in accordance with ideas in the new social movement discourse, but this framing turned out to be difficult. The organisation was in many cases perceived as being political leftist, which was unfortunate for mobilising since the people that sympathised with the traditional political left already had organisations.

²⁷ e.g. Aftenposten 01.06 and Aftenposten 05.04.

At the same time, it was in the initial phase also seen by some of the more radical leftists as for being too “soft” and pragmatic. This was possible, in the same way as in the Norwegian discourse on Europe, because of the uncertainty concerning what the organisation represented and the interdiscursivity in their texts. After the initial period, when the organisation got more defined, the impression that ATTAC had been taken over by leftist organisation became common, and this became one of the greatest restrictions for the success. As we saw in chapter 5, representing the new discourses of globalisation and new social movement can be seen as the main reason for their success, and consequently being seen as representing the established political left became a restriction.

ATTAC initially appealed to new unorganised segments of the population by rejecting the left-right division and introducing other categories such as globalisation. It was at the same time partly a response to the declining number of members in the established political organisations. The organisation tried to include established organisations both from the political left and the centre. In this way it could be an umbrella organisation bringing together people and organisations across the traditional division lines. The efforts met a great obstacle in the power of the interrelated party politics and capitalism discourse, and this was evident in three ways. First, ATTAC had problems avoiding the language of the “old” left, thereby being associated with it. Second, people facing a new phenomenon tend to try to place it in a familiar category, which generally causes the inertia challenging innovative framing. The latter was increased by the fact that a lot of individuals and organisations from the political left were found in the organisation. It can be seen as an example of failing agency caused by the strength of established structures or discourses. Third, individuals and organisations from the political left, also had an explicit interest in defining ATTAC Norway as leftist. In this way they would be the legitimate proprietors of the organisation, and it would work for the same issues as they do.

When presenting innovative framing in an order of discourse as stable as in Norway, inertia is the main problem one faces. ATTAC cannot expect to change the order in the short period described so far. Still, there is a lot of mobilising potential in new combinations and representations of new discourses, if the organisation manages to avoid being caught up in the old ones. On the way it will be met by scepticism and suspicion from the established field that aims at interpreting ATTAC in the present system of ordering.

Being interpreted as a traditional leftist organisation was in this way the greatest social constructivist challenge the organisation faced, a challenge it still faces today.

6.3 From massive support to exclusion

In chapter 4 and 5 this analysis presented a detailed argument for the initial success of ATTAC. Chapter 6 has tried to describe some of the possible social constructivist limitations to the organisation. Still one major question remain: how to explain that the organisation moved from massive support from the establishment and a lot of press attention, to a situation with little active support from established organisation and little positive media coverage? The change took just a couple of months, starting after the Gothenburg demonstrations in June 2001.

Many will argue that the decline was due to the changed situation after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre the 11th of September 2001. This may have increased the damages of being associated with violence, and made this problem even bigger than it already was for the organisation. It also took the public attention away from the issues ATTAC was concerned with. Still, I will not emphasise this here for two reasons. First, because the decline and change in media attention started before the terrorist attacks, and second, because my analysis does not bring any new dimensions into this explanations. My view is that generally the 11th of September may have had some influence, but that it is exaggerated, and sometimes 'used by ATTAC as an explanation because it places the cause outside the organisation. In this way they cannot be held responsible.

My analysis has so far not provided any good answers to the question. In the following I will first present and criticise an explanation assuming that ATTAC represents an oppressed counterdiscourse. This explanation is interesting because it is close to the organisation's understanding and framing of themselves as the "underdog" in politics. Afterwards I turn to an explanation based on the analysis in this study.

Challenging a dominating neo-liberal discourse

Erik Christensen uses the paradox of the sudden exclusion as his starting point when studying ATTAC in Denmark.²⁸ My starting point has been to explain the initial appeal of the organisation, a phenomenon he does not discuss. Summarised and simplified his argument is that ATTAC represents a counterdiscourse to the dominating neo-liberal discourse, and movements and organisations carrying such counterdiscourses will be met with attempts at both inclusion and exclusion.²⁹ In the beginning, representatives for the dominating discourse tries to include the organisation into the alliance of hegemony, but if this fails the interpretative work focuses on excluding the new organisation and thereby making it seem extreme and unrealistic. According to Christensen, this was the case with ATTAC in Denmark, and the exclusion was triggered when the organisation got a leftist definition. The move from “explosive inclusion to massive exclusion”³⁰ was due to the extended period of initiation, when the organisation was not yet defined and had a lot of interpretative potential. Christensen’s argument is well developed and he also draws upon the language-centred theories of Burke and the hegemony-centred part of Fairclough’s work. Still there is a problem in his basic assumption. Stating that ATTAC should be seen as an attempt to break with a dominating neo-liberal discourse³¹ is not unproblematic. This should be an object of study rather than an assumption for one, even though this is the way the organisation understands itself.

Based on the analysis in this project, I will argue that the original collective action framing of ATTAC, even though being creative in mixing discourses and representations, did not represent a counterdiscourse facing a dominating neo-liberal discourse, neither in Norway nor in the other Scandinavian countries. It may be argued that the neo-liberal discourse is dominating in the IMF, WTO and the World Bank, but, even though it is influential, it is not dominating in the field of politics and social movements in Scandinavian countries. Here the social democratic legacy and the strong influence from social movements in politics has been a consistent challenge to economic liberalism, even though the latter has become more important the last decades. ATTAC then, with its claims

²⁸ E. Christensen 2002

²⁹ The argument is based upon Mathiesen (1982; 1992).

³⁰ A part of the title of E. Christensen’s study, my translation

³¹ E. Christensen 2002:8

to modest restriction on free trade and capitalism, does not represent a suppressed counterdiscourse in politics.³² ATTAC represents two discourses, globalisation and new social movement discourse, that challenges the more established capitalism and party politics discourses in the field of social movements. When it comes to opposing the neo-liberal discourse in politics the organisation is not alone. In short we can mention the powerful labour union (LO), all the political parties or parts of the political parties from the left (SV, AP) and to the centre (SP, KrF, V), and most of the established organisation in the field of social movements in Norway.

Challenging capitalism and party politics discourse

I will argue that ATTAC is a challenge to capitalism and party-politics discourse by being embedded in the discourses of globalisation and new social movements, and not a challenge to neo-liberal discourse. The argument is based on the analysis in the present project, and it reflects over the new in the organisation's rhetoric. Consequently, it was also in the discourses of capitalism and party politics the organisation faced the most damaging resistance, and not in the neo-liberal discourse. The resistance from capitalism and party politics discourse was also more damaging because it came from the "inside". Paradoxically it can even be argued that ATTAC through the representations of plurality and flexibility uses neo-liberal discourse, because these concepts had their origin in liberal discourse and got their important position today from neo-liberal discourse. Fairclough for example, mentions flexibility as the word that tends to stand for the whole neo-liberal project, and he even includes globalisation in the neo-liberal discourse.³³

Christensen mentions Motattac as a defender of the dominating discourse in Denmark.³⁴ This organisation was more influential in Denmark than in Norway. In the latter case it did not even manage to get clear support from the most important leaders in

³² It may be argued that even though neo-liberal discourse does not have hegemony on discussions of national issues, it has hegemonic tendencies in discussions on international issues (from the interview with S. I. Jørgensen). This is a strong argument, and it is supported by the influence the economic field has in international forum, and the lack own experience people have with international trade as opposed to domestic trade. Still, people will use the same categories and concepts to understand international phenomenon as the ones they use to understand national phenomenon, and in this way it is difficult to see the neo-liberal hegemony. In addition there are already several organisation challenging neo-liberal discourse in international trade questions including the powerful labour movement.

³³ Fairclough 2000b:16,78

³⁴ E. Christensen 2002:16

the conservative party (H), the only undisputed defenders of a neo-liberal economic discourse in a Norwegian political context. Still, Motattac had problems mobilising also in Denmark, and stayed small and unimportant throughout the long initiating period of ATTAC. If neo-liberal discourse were dominating, one would expect it to have better advocates in the public debate. The discussion here and the general complexities of discourse illustrates the problem with operating with a Gramscian hegemony theory, and illustrates the advantages in including a more flexible and Bakhtin-inspired order of discourse, as I argued in the theory chapter. Instead of basing an analysis on the hegemony of certain discourses, society should be analysed as different fields with a multitude of competing discourses and possibilities for interpretations. This is the way it is done in the later writings of Foucault. The problem with Christensen's analysis is that it has left out the influence from Foucault and Bakhtin in Fairclough, and emphasised the influence from Gramsci, leaving him with an argument depending on a dominant discourse and a situation of hegemony.

The question still left unanswered then is: how can this analysis count for the move from massive support and media attention, to exclusion and negative or none media coverage? My answer is not as consistent as in Christensen's study, and based on the analysis in this project I can only present some suggestions to what I see as a very complex question. Probably it would be fruitful to include some realist approaches in answering this question, for example network analysis, and studied the pattern of alliances both in the organisation, between ATTAC and other organisations, and between ATTAC and the media. An important theme would be whether the organisation after a while became controlled by a leftist fraction.

In short, one can argue that while the initial success was based upon attention in the media, the stagnation was based upon the lack of this attention. ATTAC soon became old news and the newspapers that initiated the organisation withdrew from their active role. Following this it lost press coverage, and the violence in the Gothenburg demonstrations made the majority of the attention it got negative. Gothenburg is closer to both Norway and Denmark than Seattle, Prague and Genoa, and this probably increased the feeling of threat

from the violence, thereby making the law and order discourse more important.³⁵ As a consequence, it became less crucial for the established actors in the field to be associated with the organisation, because the organisation no longer represented the undisputed new and attractive. Because ATTAC still was relatively undefined, at least in the most common discourses, the interpretative creativity that in the beginning favoured the organisation because people wanted to be associated with the it, now started to oppose it.

In this way, outsiders both from the political left and right could frame the organisation in the powerful discourses of capitalism and party politics, and thereby remove the rhetorical advantages ATTAC had in the beginning. While the established actors in the beginning had to frame the organisation in a favourable way, by understanding the organisation's representations, cues and stories as a part of new discourses, they could now use the established discourses, and even start emphasising aspects such as violence. The argument here relies on an underlying assumption that the established organisations partly see ATTAC as competitor for participants, and feel threatened by the success it has. Much organisational theory support this assumption, and I have also found support for it in informal conversations with active participants in organisation in the same field. In these conversations they explained how they felt they had to participate in ATTAC in the beginning because of its popularity, and it was underlined that the primary interest was in their own organisation.

Another argument, which is integrated in Christensen's study, focuses on ATTAC becoming more defined after the initial period, thus making the possibilities for interpretative creativity among the potential participants more restricted. In other words the interdiscursivity and the related frame extension was delimited, and in this way they attracted less people because they represented less issues. The uncertainty associated with the organisation could not last, even though it can be seen as a popular representation of diversity. Due the many participants in ATTAC with organisational background and the Norwegian political context, the demands of having a set of common opinions and a formal organisation were difficult to avoid, and the organisation also ended up with a traditional

³⁵ The argument is supported by the fact that ATTAC in Sweden has been the branch of ATTAC in Scandinavia, which have had the greatest problems after the Gothenburg demonstration.

formal hierarchical structure.³⁶ When the organisation then later got more defined, the potential creativity in the interpretation of it became more limited, and this can be a part of an understanding of the declining interest.

The two arguments so far rest on the understanding that the meaning-content of ATTAC was open for interpretations in the initial phase and then later got more closed. This, or that it still is undefined, are both common assumptions among people discussing the organisation today. Even though there can be found much empirical support for the uncertainty concerning the organisation, the issue can also be presented differently.

The argument that ATTAC was undefined in the beginning rests on the discourses of capitalism and party politics. The organisation did not fit into the ordering in these discourses and consequently it became hard to define. If we on the other hand try to understand it in the discourses of globalisation and new social movements, the organisation is not hard to define at all. It will then reject economic globalisation and support political globalisation, clear-cut definitions in a globalisation discourse, and be a “new” social movement as opposed to the “old” ones in the main dichotomy in the new social movement discourse. In these discourses, there is less interpretative potential and less uncertainty concerning what kind of organisation ATTAC is, and consequently the organisation is relatively well defined. The impression of the organisation as undefined has been common, even in my own analysis, which proves the strong position of the established discourses. This indicates that if a new phenomenon cannot be understood in the interrelated discourses of capitalism and party politics, it is not understood at all. The insight is important when moving to the discursive inertia challenging ATTAC.

6.4 Inertia and outcomes

Inertia and social practice

The main limitation in the construction of statements is the difficulties for ATTAC to avoid the capitalism discourse when doing prognostic and diagnostic framing. When a discourse has been dominating in a field for years, it is difficult to avoid it in text production. Because

³⁶ Still it was not impossible to avoid. ATTAC in Sweden has a less hierarchical organisational structure closer to the initial rhetoric, and ATTAC in Denmark has a very flat structure, even without a leader (Bortne, Selle og Strømsnes 2002:132).

it has been integrated into the way the actors in the field think and perceive the world, it takes time to change it. Another important restriction is the organisations problems with avoiding the party politics discourse when doing identity framing. Actor identities are already embedded in this discourse, and changing it cannot be done overnight. Illustratively, we remember from the theory chapter that Fairclough sees identities as a part of the social practice delimiting the constitutive effects of discourse. In both examples, it is hard to be consistent in the new framing, because the old discourses have become a part of the language we use to understand reality. Even if actors want to avoid established discourses, they will be there as a property of their language. In the case of ATTAC Norway, this problem became more important because the frame disputes within the movement created some uncertainty on whether or not the organisation actually wanted to reject the discourses of party politics and capitalism.

Another restriction in the construction of statements can be seen in that the new representations and cues also must be taken from discourses. In my analysis, this is seen when ATTAC's innovative framing is identified as being embedded in the discourses of globalisation and new social movements. Agency is seen when actors transfers discourses from one field to another, and when they interdiscursively combine different discourses in a text. Agency can also be seen when discourses are made more complex, but framing must start from somewhere. ATTAC has in this way been a creative actor in the field of social movements, and also in the general political discourse in Norway.

The order of discourse not only restricts framing, but it also restricts perception of innovative framing. In this case it is mainly seen when people interpret statements from ATTAC into a different discourse than intended. The most damaging and the most common is when the prognostic, diagnostic, and identity framing is interpreted in a party politics discourse. ATTAC is then seen as being leftist according to the main left-right dichotomy. This is damaging because the reason for the success was the use of the discourse of new social movements, which represented a break with the party politics discourse categorisation of political actors. Party politics discourse perception also challenges the crucial representation of party-political independence. In the beginning another problem concerning audience perception was when diversity and flexibility representations were

interpreted as symbols of the political right in the party politics discourse instead of as representations in a social movement discourse, but this did not last long.

The final important restriction caused by discursive inertia in perception is when ATTAC's framing is interpreted in a Norwegian discourse on Europe. This was a major problem in the beginning. The globalisation framing was used to categorise the organisation as a protagonist of EU, and the democracy framing was used to categorise it as an opponent of Norwegian membership in the EU.

Summarised, the inertia is caused both by the organisations itself not managing to create and use a new language immediately, and by the tendency of outsiders and potential supporters to interpret the organisation's framing in familiar categories and discourses. Both these processes are difficult to avoid because language is not a referent to reality, it is the tool we use to think and perceive reality. Changing language takes time, because it is a part of the preconstituted reality.

Analogies are the most common way to introduce new framing, but a paradox here is that it may function to strengthen the elements that one wants to move away from. One example is when ATTAC frames party-political independence by stating that they want to "move beyond left and right". They make a new position understandable by placing it in relation to a common categorisation, but at the same time they confirm the existing categorisations by referring to them. This is another example of why inertia became the greatest challenge for ATTAC in Norway, and it is also another interesting example of the interrelatedness of agency and structure.

The study of practice or action is little emphasised in much contemporary discourse analysis,³⁷ but it is essential. For Fairclough, social practice is preconstituted subject-positions, identities and forms of interaction.³⁸ Much of the inertia evident in the case of ATTAC can also be seen as related to social practice. The discourses of capitalism and party politics have created subject-positions, shaped identities and formed interaction, and escaping these are difficult. These practices are not discursive as the practices analysed in the part on collective action framing in this project, but they are still embedded in the established discourses. The subject-positions of leader and member is embedded in established political discourse with hierarchical and static organisations. The identity of

³⁷ Neumann 2002. He sees culture as an "interplay between discourse and practice" (ibid:1).

³⁸ Fairclough 1995a:59

being socialist or conservative is embedded in party politics discourse. The ways the forms of interaction is organised in the field of social movements in Norway also presupposes hierarchical and stable organisations representing a single opinion. In this way they are shaped in the same established discourses.

ATTAC challenges these practices with its focus on diversity in identity and opinions, and network and non-hierarchical organisation. Challenging practices is even more difficult than challenging language, because its materiality strengthen the impression of being “real” or “normal”. The argument here is that the discourses of capitalism and party politics becomes hard to oppose because of their materialising in subject-positions, identities and forms of interaction. Seeing social practice as constituted discursively modifies the distinction between social practice and discourse presented by Fairclough, and supports my argument in the theory chapter that the difference between Foucault and Fairclough on the matter of practice, is exaggerated.

Outcomes

Outcomes have been one of the most neglected topics in social movement literature,³⁹ which is striking because social mobilisation is motivated by the wish for influence. Thus, towards the end of this thesis I find it interesting to discuss the influences ATTAC Norway has had on the political situation in Norway. In other words, can anything be said about the effects of the work of the new organisation?

When working on such complex, internationally based, and great issues as the ones ATTAC does, the influence is hard to measure. It is also too early to evaluate the influence the organisation has had directly on political issues. I will therefore only present an argument, based on the main analysis, discussing the influence the organisation might have had on the order of discourse in the political field in Norway. This is also supported by Meyer’s emphasis on the cultural effects of movements: “the cultural effects of movements, though often neglected by analysts, are often longer-lasting and further reaching than the more short-term policy victories and defeats”.⁴⁰

³⁹ Giugni 1999:xiv-xv

⁴⁰ Meyer 1999:186

As we have seen, the organisation challenges the established discourses and categorisations in Norway through its use of transnational representations, cognitive and stories. If they succeed, and manage to avoid being “taken over” by the established discourses, the result will be a permanent threat to the normality situation. It will make the party politics and the capitalism discourse less important, and it will be a challenge to the ordering inhabited in the Norwegian discourse on EU. Today, these orderings together constitute the major elements in the social constructivist structures in the field of social movements and politics in Norway. After a long time of interpretative work, the new discourses of globalisation and new social movements may in the same way as the discourses of capitalism and party politics shape social practice in a way that makes it understood as reality.

Concluding remarks

In the same way as the order of discourse enables the construction of statements and frames emphasised in chapter 5, we have in this chapter seen that it also restricts framing efforts. In the case of ATTAC in Norway the inertia involved in the perception of innovative framing was one of the major problems of the organisation. This structural constraint can be combined with agency approaches in seeing the link between discursive inertia and active counterframing and frame disputes within the movement. In the same way as chapter 4 and 5 emphasised the necessity of seeing the interdependence of collective action framing and an order of discourse, these are interdependent, and it is hard to analyse one without the other. Opponents draw on established discourses in their counterframing, and frame disputes within an organisation may be due to discursive inertia.

If the outcomes are as indicated in the last section, and the new discourses of globalisation and party politics becomes more influential, this will favour ATTAC in several ways. Based on the analysis in chapter 4 and 5, ATTAC will then still represent novelty, at least until they are challenged by something even more novel. They will have the link to the field of science, which is the main system of truth-production in contemporary society, and they will increase the mobilisation potential by making the discourses not yet formally institutionalised in social movements and organisations in Norway, become even more important.

7. CONCLUSION

The conclusion will be divided into three parts: theoretical conclusions, empirical conclusions, and a part describing how my analysis can relate to the contemporary debate and development of ATTAC. The theoretical conclusion will summarise the general argument for synthesising framing theory and discourse analysis, and subsequently reveal how this theoretical argument is supported in the analysis in this project. The empirical conclusions will summarise the main reasons for the success of ATTAC as well as the main discursive limitations it met. Finally, it will, on the basis of the empirical conclusions, discuss some implications for the future of ATTAC Norway.

Theoretical conclusions

Based on the analysis in this project, I have two main reasons for introducing discourse analysis into framing theory in social movement theory, and one suggestion of how to do it in empirical research. First the main reasons for the project: 1) There is theoretically an absence of a structural level of analysis in contemporary framing theory, which makes the explanations too voluntaristic. 2) When studying collective action framing such a structural element is crucial to get a complete understanding of the construction, perception and effects of framing. Finally: 3) When doing empirical research we can use cognitive cues, representations and stories as the link or mediator between framing theory and discourse analysis, and searching for these will assist our understanding of the interdependent relation of framing and discourses.

First, in chapter 2, I argue that there is an absence of a structural level of analysis in social constructivist approaches in social movement theory, which makes their arguments agency-centred. On the contrary, the realist approaches emphasising political opportunity structure and mobilising structures have elements of both structure and agency in their explanations. When comparing realist and social constructivist approaches, we can see how realist political opportunities and mobilising structures have their counterparts in social constructivism (model 1). Political opportunities must be perceived as political opportunities to mobilise potential supporters, and mobilising structures are not only

informal and formal organisations and organisation forms, but also the mental collective vehicles such as representations, cognitive cues and stories. These elements are embedded in discourses, and this is little emphasised in framing theory today. The structural gap in contemporary framing theory is in my analysis filled by emphasising how collective action framing must take place in an order of discourse (model 3).

The structural element applied in framing theory is master frames, and I argue that master frames cannot be seen as representing a structural level of analysis challenging the voluntarism in framing theory for two reasons. First, master frames are seen as earlier organisations and movement's framing, and a product of deliberate agents. Second, master frames only restrict later organisations, not the early ones, in a cycle of protest, implicating that the first organisations are unrestricted by structures in language.

Following the identified theoretical lack of a structural level of analysis in social constructivist approaches in social movement theory, discourse analysis is introduced. However, it remains to show the necessity of including discourse analysis when doing empirical research.

Second, in chapter 4 and 5 it is revealed how difficult it is to understand the complete effect of collective action framing without integrating a structural level of analysis. It is interesting to see how the structures in a study of transnational frames, become the way to include the local. In the case of ATTAC in Norway we must first include an order of discourse to understand novelty and science framing. Without the value of novelty and truth in modernity, it is difficult to understand why being novel and scientific is emphasised in ATTAC's texts. Second, it must be included to understand the full effect of the use of the concepts of globalisation, diversity/plurality and flexibility/network. Without seeing these as embedded in popular discourses we can neither understand where they originate, nor how they are perceived among potential supporters. An illustrating example is that diversity in the "us" identity framing, must be seen as disadvantageous for collective action without including how diversity is celebrated in late modern discourse.

Third, having introduced discourse analysis as the theoretical structural element necessary in framing theory, and revealed how it is necessary in an empirical study, it will be interesting to show how these theories are interrelated. Cognitive cues, stories and

representations are seen as important concepts for analysing texts. Identifying these, and revealing both their mobilising functions and their embedding in discourses, is one way of bringing together framing theory and discourse analysis.

In my study, cognitive cues and representations have been the most important mediators of discourses. A cognitive cue can be seen as a word in a text that influence audience perception by indicating which discourse the text should be interpreted in. In the texts I have studied the most prominent cognitive cues have been “*globalisation*” indicating a globalisation discourse, and “*diversity*” or “*plurality*” and “*network*” or “*flexibility*” indicating both a new social movement discourse and diversity and flexibility discourses. In addition, the cues “*new*” and “*scientific*” are closely related to general modern discourse. These cognitive cues can also be seen as indicating representations. While cognitive cues are words and simple indications in a text, representations are more elaborated and consistent statements. The cognitive cue “*diversity*” will, for example, often be embedded in the representation of the effectiveness of diversity, and the cue “*flexibility*” in the representations of the effectiveness of flexibility.

In this project I have identified cognitive cues and representations, analysed their mobilising functions (model 4), and later revealed their embedding in discourses (model 6). The particular elements are both used by the organisation because of their mobilising functions, most often on the basis of practical knowledge, and because they are present in discourses in society. In the latter, it is the discourses that speak, and not the actors. In this way we need the insights from both the rational choice inspired collective action framing, and the structurally based discourse analysis. The tendency in framing theory to focus on actor’s strategic framing when studying particular texts, makes the overall argument become too voluntaristic. Including a structural element conceptualised in discourses, makes it is easier to see how structures restrict the collective action framing. The influence by structures on ATTAC is evident in the way they are limited by discourses both in the construction and perception of statements. ATTAC Norway’s agency is evident in the way they produce interdiscursive texts, which are heterogeneous in forms and meanings, combining cognitive cues, representations and stories from several different discourses.

Finally, and as a digression to the main project, I will mention a last theoretical finding in this project. It concerns how the difference between Fairclough and Foucault can

be seen as a consequence of different understandings of discourse. This is interesting for three reasons. First, because of the importance Fairclough has put into the separation of social practice as an autonomous level of analysis. Second, because his critique of Foucault on the constituting force of discourse is based on this argument, and third, because I think many controversies in discourse analysis can be lead back to diverging conceptualisations of discourse. Following the discussion in the theory chapter, I will argue that the difference between Foucault and Fairclough on the question of social practice is not a matter of substance, but rather of different understandings of discourse. Fairclough uses discourse in a way closer to the linguistic definition, spoken or written language, and in this way connects it to the present. Foucault on the other hand is inspired by structuralism, and sees it as an all-encompassing structure of behaviour, thought, language and material reality. His discourse will consequently include both the social practice Fairclough calls for, and also history. In this way Fairclough's critique of Foucault, that he overstates the constitutive effects of discourse, misses the target.

Empirical conclusions

A social constructivist approach is relevant because of the absence of "real" changes in political opportunity and mobilising structure of a scale necessary to understand the sudden success of ATTAC in Norway. Based on the analysis in this project, I will argue that ATTAC Norway's success in 2001 had four main reasons: 1) The organisation had well developed collective action framing. 2) This collective action framing was embedded in popular and new discourses in the field of social movements in Norway, and the use of them gave the organisation the crucial values of novelty and truth. 3) Representing these new discourses made it easier to mobilise, because they had not yet been institutionalised in formal organisations. 4) The great demonstrations in Seattle etc. gave ATTAC access to media, and the extensive media coverage provided the organisation with an opportunity to reach a large audience with the collective action framing.

First, ATTAC had a well-developed set of beliefs, which facilitated collective action. The organisation's collective action framing can be divided into injustice, agency, and identity framing, which all can help explain some of the success of the organisation. The prognostic injustice framing identifies a range of problems that can be lead back to

neo-liberal globalisation, the two main ones being economical insecurity for people in the western part of the world, and increasing inequalities between the North and the South. These two problems appeal to the two traditionally largest segments in the field of social movements in Norway: potential members interested in traditional labour issues, and potential members interested in the North-South conflict. In addition, other issues such as democracy, environmental issues, sexism, racism, and even armed conflict are included in the diagnostic framing. In this way, ATTAC has the potential to appeal to a range of people with different interests, but they still have to convince potential members that the organisation will be more effective and better than the already established organisations. In the prognostic framing, the emphasis on a few main issues helps the impression of effectiveness, and in the agency framing, emphasising how ATTAC is a growing movement in a growing field serves the same function.

In the competition with established organisations ATTAC Norway has two advantages. First, compared to classic political left organisations the organisation has concrete aims, which makes it more realistic that they will have success, and blaming identifiable international organisations such as IMF and WTO, makes action seem more effective than blaming “systems” or “capitalism”. In addition, they also have the advantage of being associated with the field of science. Second, compared to organisations engaged in North-South issues, they have a larger sentiment pool to recruit from because they include traditional labour issues.

The identity framing was also important in creating support, because the organisation must seem appealing to potential members. ATTAC’s discursive construction of an “us” and “them” contains the representations of diversity and flexibility. The importance of this framing and how it made the organisation attractive cannot be seen without moving to the second reason for the success of the organisation, namely that the collective action framing were embedded in new and popular discourses.

The analysis has identified three representations in the globalisation discourse, the economic, the political and the cultural, and revealed how ATTAC relate to them. The organisation opposes the economic, embraces the political and is ambivalent to the cultural representation of globalisation. In the new social movement discourse the analysis has identified five representations, and revealed how at least four of them can be found in

ATTAC's framing. They are particularly prevalent in the identity framing. The representations are: irreducibility to economic class interest, scepticism of the state, rejection of ideologies, diversity and flexibility. Except for the scepticism of the state the organisation systematically uses all these representations.

The most important finding for the conclusion is that the organisation uses representations, cues and stories from globalisation and new social movement discourse, instead of the interrelated capitalism and party politics discourse, and this is important in understanding the success.

The discourses of globalisation and new social movements can be seen as engaged in a discursive struggle with the discourses of capitalism and party politics, in defining the world and categorising political actors. ATTAC's use of globalisation discourse and new social movement discourse provides the organisation with the values of novelty and truth. These values are important in modernity and crucial determinants of organisational success. The discourses provide the organisation with novelty because globalisation and new social movement are new discourses, and truth because these discourses have their origin in the field of science. Science is the main field for truth production in contemporary society, and a close association with this field is an advantage when the truthfulness of statements is evaluated.

In identifying the discourses of globalisation and new social movements, I have analysed articles and books from social science, and thus used social science theory as the empirical basis. In this way three points are made. First, these discourses originate in the scientific field. Second, science is also partaking in the construction of reality, not "objectively" describing it as in realism or "objectively" describing the construction of reality as in symbolic interactionism. Third, and related to the second, textual work in the scientific field is a crucial part of the order of discourse, and should be analysed in the same way as other texts.

The third reason for the success is that being embedded in the discourses of globalisation and new social movements provides ATTAC, not only with novelty and truth, but also with a potential for mobilisation, which can assist explain the success of the organisation. Being new discourses, they have not yet been institutionalised formally in other organisations, and consequently organisations using them will be perceived as

fulfilling a need. This will make it easier to recruit new members. The other way around, if the organisation framed in capitalism and party politics discourse it would be perceived as superfluous, because there are already a multitude of organisations representing these views.

The mobilising potential also increased by ATTAC's texts carrying the representations of party-politics independence, diversity and flexibility, because these representations have been very popular in other social fields. Party-politics independence is, for example, seen in "third way" rhetoric, and diversity and flexibility has been very important in the work field. The latter is evident in this project through studies of management theory. The strong position of the work field in people's everyday-life, and the importance of these representations in this field, can help explain the success of ATTAC. In this way these representations diffused from the work field to the field of social movements, and made the organisation using them attractive because they were already familiar, understandable and popular among the potential members.

ATTAC opposes neo-liberal globalisation and also neo-liberal discourse, which they claim have a hegemony in politics. It is an interesting paradox to find that the organisation uses the same representations as the ones they attack. This is especially the case with plurality and flexibility. The paradox can be explained in two ways. Either the neo-liberal discourse is hegemonic, and production of meaning is difficult outside it, or ATTAC uses these popular representations to fight the neo-liberalism with its own weapons. The latter resembles for example Tony Blair's or Bill Clinton's use of conservative rhetoric to defeat the conservatives, only on a less conscious level. It is likely a combination of the two. When analysing use of language, mixing of ways of talking is common. Defining the borders of discourse is an analytical act based on the actor's delimitations, and language in use is in move and interdiscursive.

Fourth, point 1, 2 and 3 summarises the main advantages ATTAC had by analysing their texts, and by analysing the order of discourse in the field of social movements in Norway. So far, we have seen that the organisation had well developed frames suiting the order of discourse. Still, for the collective action framing to be effective, it needed to reach the potential members. In the case of ATTAC, this was mainly done through the numerous newspaper articles written on the organisation in 2001. In this way media access becomes

one of the important reasons for ATTAC's success. The media access came as a consequence of the great demonstrations in Seattle, Prague, Genoa and Gothenburg. These demonstrations suited the news genre because of the number of protesters, the carnival atmosphere and the violence that occurred. When ATTAC was initiated in Norway, it became the local representative for this global phenomenon, and hence gained a lot of attention. Being initiated by a newspaper is also favourable for the media attention. The media coverage, which was mainly favourable to the organisation, made it attractive for established organisations and individuals already in important positions in society. The support from these organisations and "celebrities" also increased the interest from the media.

The violence in the demonstrations is another interesting paradox in this case. ATTAC would likely not have had the same success without it, because it created the media attention necessary to diffuse their framing. On the other hand it became one of the greatest limitations to the success of the organisation. This takes us to the final part of the analysis, namely challenges to the success of the organisation. As well as having a lot of factors favouring the success of the organisation, there were also restrictions and factors opposing it.

The two main social constructivist limitations ATTAC faced were being associated with violence, and discursive inertia involving the discourses of capitalism and party politics. The association with violence was mainly a problem of outsiders stigmatising ATTAC, which became relatively easy because of the close association between the organisation and the violent demonstrations. Even though ATTAC was one of many organisations in these demonstrations, media texts left the impression that it was the major one. In this way, the impression of being violent was hard to escape. Still, active members and supporters defended themselves by separating their own organisation from the minority responsible for the violence in the demonstrations, and at least internally and for the potential supporters already sympathetic to the organisation, this argument proved strong. Even though the problems with the association with violence were damaging, it was in many ways most severe in relation to the outsiders, and the members did not see it as a problem.

The tendency to use a language and categorisations from capitalism and party politics discourse can be seen as a greater problem because it was not only based upon counterframing, but also on frame disputes within the organisation. It was seen both in the construction of statements and in the perception among potential supporters. This is a problem harder to oppose because language is integrated in the way we think, and even the members of ATTAC are used to think and talk about social movement organisations in the language of capitalism and party politics discourse.

Concluding remarks

My study has emphasised the period around the initiation of ATTAC in Norway in 2001. In this final section, I will make some remarks on the period after the year of initiation. The first remark concerns the demonstration against a meeting of scientists arranged by the World Bank in Oslo in the summer of 2002. 10 000 people showed up, and the demonstration was described as a success by ATTAC because it occurred without any violent incidents. In this way the demonstration helped the organisation avoid being seen as violent. At the same time, the demonstration challenged the association with academia and science. The meeting was a forum for discussions among scientists, some of them employed by the World Bank and some not, and it did not have any formal power. Demonstrating against such a meeting challenge the value of truth, because discussions often are seen as a means to reach the truth. Demonstrations do not have this symbolic value, and can in some cases even be seen as repressive of truth. This impression was strengthened by the decision not to partake in the debates after having been invited.

The second remark concerns a decision taken on the annual meeting of March 2003. Here it was decided that opposing the General Agreement on Trade with Services (GATS) should be the main issue for ATTAC Norway the coming year, and it was also decided to work closer with the labour union. These decisions may have two opposing consequences if compared to my analysis. First, it may be favourable because it will include self-interest framing into the organisation. As mentioned in chapter 4, self-interest was evident in the texts applied in the initial phase in Norway, and it has always been important in France. Still, it never really got established in Norway. Reintroducing self-interest will increase mobilisation through the process of frame extension. At the same time, it will undermine

the “break” with the established political leftist organisations, and therefore be problematic for framing embedded in new social movement discourse. This framing is important in understanding the success of the organisation.

Finally, I will shortly comment on the future of ATTAC Norway. The decreased interest from the media and the related decreasing interest from the established organisations in the field of social movements in Norway have been mentioned as a problem for the organisation. However, this may also be helpful. Less interest from established organisation and media makes it easier to develop a comprehensive “new language” which the participants master, and in this way reduce discursive inertia. The process of developing a coherent rhetoric takes time, and the tendencies in the beginning to return to the discourses of capitalism and party politics, may be due to the short period of initiation. Less interest from established organisations and media will also make it easier to avoid the more visible frame disputes within the organisation.

ATTAC Norway has a golden opportunity to develop and establish in the organisation, the language I have described as the reason for the success. Today this language is challenged by discursive inertia, counterframing and internal frame disputes. Of the three, it is the last that is easiest to influence, and it is here the work should start. However, the question remains if this language reflects the opinions of the members. After all social movements and political organisations' beliefs cannot and should not be decided by the pragmatic goal of organisational growth. By interpretative work, an organisation can change the discursive order, and in this way change the determinants of organisational success. Strategic framing influences the order of discourse, even though the order of discourse enables framing in the first place. In other words: structures are both the means for and the outcome of agency.¹

¹ This idea is referred to as the duality of structures, and it is the basic idea in Giddens's theory of structuration, formulated in *The Constitution of Society* (1984).

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Appendix

International movement for democratic control of financial markets and their institutions. Adopted at the international meeting of December 11-12, 1998.

1:Financial globalization increases economic insecurity and social inequalities. It bypasses and undermines
2:popular decision-making, democratic institutions, and sovereign states responsible for the general interest.
3:In their place, it substitutes a purely speculative logic that expresses nothing more than the interests of
4:multinational corporations and financial markets.

5:In the name of a transformation of the world depicted as a natural law, citizens and their representatives
6:find their decision-making power contested. Such a humiliating proof of impotence encourages the growth
7:of anti-democratic parties. It is urgent to block this process by creating new instruments of regulation and
8:control, at the national, European, and international levels. Experience clearly shows that governments will
9:not do so without encouragement. Taking up the double challenge of social implosion and political
10:desperation thus requires a dramatic increase in civic activism.

11:The total freedom of capital circulation, the existence of tax havens, and the explosion of the volume of
12:speculative transactions have forced governments into a frantic race to win the favor of big investors.
13:Every day, one hundred billion dollars pass through the currency markets in search of instant profits, with
14:no relation to the state of production or to trade in goods and services. The consequences of this state of
15:affairs are the permanent increase of income on capital at the expense of labor, a pervasive economic
16:insecurity, and the growth of poverty.

17:The social consequences of these developments are even more severe for dependent countries that are
18:directly affected by the financial crisis and are subjected to the dictates of the IMF's adjustment plans.
19:Debt service requires governments to lower social service budgets to a minimum and condemn societies
20:to underdevelopment. Interest rates much higher than in the countries of the North contribute to the
21:destruction of national producers; uncontrolled privatization and denationalization develop in the search
22:for the resources demanded by investors.

23:Everywhere social rights are called into question. Where there are public retirement systems, workers are
24:asked to replace them by a pension fund mechanism that subjects their own employers to the sole
25:imperatives of immediate profitability, extends the sphere of influence of finance, and persuades citizens
26:of the obsolescence of institutions of solidarity between nations, peoples, and generations. Deregulation
27:affects the labor market as a whole, and the results include degradation of working conditions, the growth
28:of workplace insecurity and unemployment, and the dismantling of systems of social protection.

29:Using economic development and job creation as a pretext, the major powers have not given up plans for
30:a Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) which would give the investors all the rights and leave
31:national governments with all the responsibilities. Under the pressure of public opinion and mobilization
32:of activists, they had to abandon plans to negotiate this agreement in the framework of the OECD, but
33:discussions will resume in the framework of the World Trade Organization. At the same time the USA as
34:well as the European Commission continue their free trade crusade, pushing for the creation of new zones
35:of deregulation at the continental or intercontinental level (the PET project between Europe and North
36:America, the extension of NAFTA into Latin America, etc.)

37:There is still time to put the brakes on most of these machines for creating inequalities between North and
38:South as well as in the heart of the developed countries themselves. Too often, the argument of
39:inevitability is reinforced by censorship of information about alternatives. Thus international financial
40:institutions and the major media (whose owners are often beneficiaries of globalization) have been silent
41:about the proposal of the American economist and Nobel Laureate James Tobin, to tax speculative
42:transactions on currency markets. Even at the particularly low rate of 0.1%, the Tobin Tax would bring in

43:close to \$100 billion every year. Collected for the most part by industrialized countries, where the
44:principal financial markets are located, this money could be used to help struggle against inequalities, to
45:promote education and public health in poor countries, and for food security and sustainable
46:development. Such a measure fits with a clearly antispeculative perspective. It would sustain a logic of
47:resistance, restore maneuvering room to citizens and national governments, and, most of all, would mean
48:that political, rather than financial considerations are returning to the fore.

49:To this end, signatories propose to participate or to cooperate with the international movement ATTAC to
50:debate, produce and disseminate information, and act together, in their respective countries as well as on
51:the continental and international levels. This joint actions have the following goals:

52:- to hamper international speculation;

53:- to tax income on capital;

54:- to penalize tax havens;

55:- to prevent the generalization of pension funds;

56:- to promote transparency in investments in dependant countries;

57:- to establish a legal framework for banking and financial operations, in order not to penalize further

58:consumers and citizens; the employees of banking institutions can play an important role in overseeing

59:these operations;

60:- to support the demand for the general annulment of the public debt of dependent countries, and the use

61:of the resources thus freed in behalf of populations and sustainable development, which many call paying

62:off the "social and ecological debt.

63:More generally, the goals are:

64:- to reconquer space lost by democracy to the sphere of finance,

65:- to oppose any new abandonment of national sovereignty on the pretext of the "rights" of investors and

66:merchants,

67:- to create a democratic space at the global level.

68:It is simply a question of taking back, together, the future of our world.